REFLECTIONS

ON THE

EXPEDIENCY of a LAW

FOR THE

NATURALIZATION

OF

FOREIGN PROTESTANTS:

In Two PARTS.

PART II.

Containing IMPORTANT QUERIES relating to Commerce, —The Employment of the Poor,—The Landed and National Intereſt,—Taxes of all Kinds, particularly the Poor Tax,—The real Intereſt of Tradeſmen,—Reformation of Morals,—Conſtitution both in Church and State, the Duties of Humanity, and the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion.

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REFLECTIONS

ON THE

EXPEDIENCY of LAW

FOR THE

NATURALIZATION

OF

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE

PREFATORY DISCOURSE.

Setting forth the *avowed* Doctrines, and *conſtant* Practice of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Perſecution of *Proteſtants*.

I. *THE Church of* Rome, *judging herſelf to be infallible, hath paſſed an irrevocable Decree againſt Chriſtians of all Denominations, that do not conform to her Communion, whereby ſhe declares them* accurſed Hereticks, *and pretends to cut them off from being Partakers of the Mercies of the Chriſtian Covenant. This Power ſhe ſuppoſes herſelf to be inveſted with, in Conſequence of her Spiritual Dominion, as the* [Mater & Magiſtra] *Mother and Governeſs of the Chriſtian World. But the Spiritual Powers are not the* only *Weapons employed for the Extirpation of Hereſy.*

II. *FOR it is the conſtant and ſtanding Maxim of the Church, that even ſuch Heretical Opinions as* do not interfere *with the Principles of Civil Government, deſerve, in* Strictneſs, *ſome Civil Puniſhment;*

though its Members are divided in their Sentiments concerning the Extent *and* Degree, *and in ſome Inſtances, concerning the* Expediency *of it. In thoſe Countries, for Inſtance, where the Inquiſition is eſtabliſhed, the* Romaniſts *attribute to the Church (or to the Church and* * Chriſtian Magiſtrate *together) the ſame Power of Life and Death over Hereticks, which temporal Judges execute on Criminals;—only regarding Hereſy as the moſt* aggravated *Crime. In* France, *and wherever elſe there is no Inquiſition, they only aſcribe a Kind of* parental *Authority to the Church, extending to the Infliction of* wholeſome *Severities, through the Aſſiſtance of the* Chriſtian *Magiſtrate, but not of* capital † *Puniſhment. The former propoſe to*

* The learned and candid Reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that the Author's Intention is to give ſuch a *general* State of this Matter, as the *Romaniſts* themſelves would allow to be a fair one in the Mouth of an Adverſary. Now it being the ſame Thing, with reſpect to the principal Point in Diſpute, whether the pretended Right of puniſhing Hereticks is lodged in the Church ſeparately, or in the Church and State conjointly, this Part of the Controverſy (ſo fiercely conteſted among the *Romaniſts* themſelves) is here *deſignedly* omitted, as not worth attending to;—eſpecially as the Advocates for Perſecution confine this ſuppoſed Right to the Profeſſors of the *Catholick Faith*, and would make the World believe, that though they have a Right to perſecute Hereticks, *Heretical* Governors have *no* Right to perſecute Catholick Subjects. Therefore the grand Queſtion ſtill returns, Whether the *Chriſtian Religion* gives the Popiſh Church, or a Popiſh State (it matters not which) a Right to perſecute thoſe who diſſent from them in ſuch Matters of Conſcience, as are *conſiſtent* with the Principles of Civil Government.

† This is meant with regard to the *Laity* among the *Proteſtants*; for as to their *Clergy*, it is certain, that they are perſecuted even unto *Death* in moſt *Popiſh* Countries, eſpecially in *France*, as may be ſeen by the *Edicts* of 1686, 1724, and 1745. And there are *recent* Examples of the Execution of theſe cruel *Edicts* on ſeveral worthy Proteſtant Clergymen.

to extirpate Hereſy by deſtroying *Hereticks, the latter by* haraſſing *and* oppreſſing *them. And to theſe two Opinions we may add a third, eſpouſed by the more moderate Members of this Church, that though the Church and* Chriſtian *State are inveſted with an* undoubted Right *of inflicting civil* Penalties *on Hereticks, it is not always* expedient *to exerciſe it.— And this Difference in Opinion produces as great a Diverſity in the Arguments advanced to vindicate the Perſecutions of the Church of* Rome.

III. *THE* Spaniſh *Divines, and all the Defenders of the Inquiſition, endeavour to juſtify its greateſt Cruelties upon the Principles of the antient* Jewiſh *Church; and quote with much Parade the Examples of* Moſes, Joſhua, *and the beſt Kings of* Iſrael, *in Vindication of their modern Practice of putting Hereticks to Death. This they do, without ſo much as attempting to ſhew that the Caſes are parallel; and therefore we muſt charitably hope, they do not ſee the Impropriety of bringing ſuch Authorities, inaſmuch as they take the very Thing for granted, which ought firſt to be proved.*

IV. *IT will therefore be highly expedient, to examine into the original Inſtitution of the* Hebrew *Government, in order to ſee, whether it bears ſuch an Analogy to the Civil Governments now ſubſiſting, as would juſtify the Arguments and Concluſions ſo often brought in Support of the moſt fierce and bloody Perſecutions.*

NOW the great and fundamental *Articles of this Conſtitution was, that the* GOD *of* Iſrael *was likewiſe their temporal Prince, the great King* JEHOVAH,

VAH, *who made the Temple his Palace, and the Holy of Holies the Chamber of his Preſence, where He reſided by a* Shekinah, *or viſible Glory, and gave Audience to the High-Prieſt, his great Miniſter of State. Thus it came to paſs, that the main or* diſtinguiſhing *Principles of the Religion of the People of* Iſrael *became in Practice the Tokens and Evidences of the* Homage *and* Allegiance *due to their Prince. In ſuch Circumſtances, thoſe capital Deviations from the Duty preſcribed, as tended to overthrow the Conſtitution, were to be conſidered as ſo many Overt-Acts of Treaſon and Rebellion. And as every Government muſt have the Power of providing for its own Preſervation, ſo it is expreſly commanded in the Law of* Moſes, *that ſuch Subjects as would not conform to their Duty, eſpecially if they fell off to* Idolatry, *were to ſuffer a temporal Death*; Idolatry, *and ſuch like Crimes, being not only Acts of* Apoſtaſy *in reſpect to* Religion, *but of* Treaſon *in regard to Government. And the Perſon ſo offending, was not to be* pitied, neither to be ſpared, neither to be concealed: But thou ſhalt ſurely kill him; and thine Hand ſhall be firſt upon him, to put him to Death, and afterwards the Hand of all the People: And thou ſhalt ſtone him with Stones, that he die; becauſe he ſought to thruſt thee away from the Lord thy GOD. —— And all Iſrael ſhall hear, and fear, and ſhall do no more any ſuch Wickedneſs as this among you. *Deuter.* xiii. 8, 9, 10, 11.

IT might further be obſerved, that as this was a Civil *Conſtitution, as well as a* Religious *one, ſo the great* JEHOVAH, *the King of* Iſrael, *had made a Grant of the Land of* Canaan *to the* Hebrew *Nation, on the expreſs Condition, that the People continued*

tinued in their Loyalty and Obedience to Him. Therefore it was impoſſible for any Member of this Society to ſet up another Religion, without committing High-Treaſon againſt the Prince, and incurring a Forfeiture of thoſe Privileges which were held under him.

AS to the Puniſhment due to ſuch Crimes in a future *State, and the Terrors of a Judgment to come, theſe being* diſtinct *Articles, in which all Nations and People are concerned, in Proportion to the Light they have received, therefore the Conſideration of them may be omitted in the preſent Caſe.*

V. *HOWEVER, thus much, I am perſuaded, appears already, that the Advocates for the Inquiſition have miſerably failed in their grand Attempt, and have widely miſtook the Nature of the Proof they ought to bring in Vindication of this Tribunal. For what Good can it do the Cauſe of Perſecution, to quote the Precepts or Examples recorded in the Old Teſtament, when the Caſe of all* Chriſtian *Nations is ſo very diſſimilar to that of the* Jews? *And what Inference can be drawn from the* Hebrew *Conſtitution, under a* Theocracy, *or the* Temporal Kingly *Government of the great* JEHOVAH, *that is applicable to any Government or Conſtitution now ſubſiſting? And if one main Deſign of the Eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition was to root out* Judaiſm, *may we not juſtly wonder to find it actually conducted upon* Jewiſh *Principles,—tho' ſuch Laws were not intended at firſt for* univerſal Uſe, *and have been repealed, or at leaſt ſuperſeded by the coming of the Goſpel,* if not long before?* THE

* Probably this Law, and the other which follows it in the ſame Chapter, being ſtill more ſevere againſt an *Idolatrous* City, were no longer in force, than while the *Shekinah*, or viſible Preſence, was continued in the Temple. But this is propoſed only as a *Conjecture*.

VI. *THE Members of the* Gallican *Church, and all others that may be included under the ſame Denomination, do not pretend to build their Right of perſecuting Hereticks upon ſuch Principles, but think they go upon ſurer Grounds, by aſcribing to the Church, (or to the Church and State, as profeſſing the* Catholick Religion) *the Right and Power of an* earthly Parent *over her Children. And as this Doctrine carries with it an Appearance of Regard for the Souls of Men, mixed with Tenderneſs and Affection to their Perſons, the Unwary and Well-intentioned are the more eaſily deceived into an Approbation of it, as they may not ſee into the fatal Conſequences of ſuch a Claim. For under the Pretence of a Parent's uſing* neceſſary *Diſcipline, and* wholeſome *Severities, for the* Correction *of a* diſobedient *Child, all Kinds of Perſecution that do not extend to the taking away of Life itſelf, are allowed and juſtified. Nay even* Death *is inflicted on the* Proteſtant Miniſters of the Goſpel, *who are conſidered as the* Corruptors *of theſe Children, whenever they exerciſe auy Part of their holy Function. Moreover, if a* Lay Perſon *ſhould* occaſionally *officiate, for* want *of a Miniſter, in any publick Aſſembly, or be inſtrumental in calling it together, he is to be puniſhed in the like Manner: It being the* wicked *Policy of the* Romiſh *Church to deprive the Proteſtants of having publick Teachers of any Kind; hoping thereby, that when the Shepherds are ſmitten, their Flocks will be ſcattered, and become the more eaſy Prey. And this Treatment, cruel and unchriſtian as it is, is the very mildeſt ſhe vouchſafes to Proteſtants. But before we enter more diſtinctly into the* Conſequences, *let us firſt examine the* Foundation *of this Doctrine.*

VII. *NOW*

VII. *NOW the very Terms made uſe of,* [Mater & Magiſtra] *Mother and Governeſs, are figurative and metaphorical Expreſſions, and therefore, ſhould not be ſuppoſed to extend to* all *Caſes belonging to the Original from whence they are borrowed. Nay, if they had been* * *Scripture Phraſes, which I humbly conceive they are not, they would not have juſtified* all *the Concluſions the* Romaniſts *draw from them. For Doctrines of Importance, which have an immediate Reference to Practice, and on which both the preſent and future Happineſs of Mankind are ſuppoſed to depend, are not to be built on Tropes and Metaphors;—eſpecially where the Subject would admit of the* plaineſt *and moſt* expreſs *Language, level to all Capacities. And yet there is not* one Word *in all the New Teſtament, the* Romaniſts *themſelves being Judges, that directly, and* ex profeſſo, *teaches or inculcates the Doctrine of Perſecution; though they muſt allow, that it would have been as eaſy to ſay,* Perſecute Hereticks, *as* Love your Enemies. *And therefore, when they would defend theſe unchriſtian Tenets by Scripture Arguments, they are forced to ſeek out for* ſtrained *Interpretations, and to have recourſe to very remote Concluſions, or ill founded Hypotheſes.*

AND as to the primitive *Church, the very Circumſtances of it under the* Pagan *Emperors, afford Evidence enough to ſhew, what the Chriſtians of thoſe Times thought of Perſecution. But when the Empire*

a *became*

* The Church *Triumphant* in *Heaven*, the *Jeruſalem* that is *Above*, is ſaid to be *The Mother of us all*; but this Appellation is never given in Scripture to any Church *Militant* upon *Earth*.

became Chriſtian, *the Sweets of Power, and Thirſt of Dominion and Revenge, ſoon began to corrupt the Goſpel Doctrine of Love and Charity, and mutual Forbearance; and the Gentleneſs and Condeſcenſion ſo* earneſtly *and* pathetically *recommended by St* Paul *to be ſhewn to a* weak Brother, *were turned into Bitterneſs, and Wrath, and Evil-Speaking. And every Sect, when uppermoſt, called upon the* Secular *Arm to ſupport the* good Cauſe, *by* cruſhing *their Adverſaries. Hence aroſe* new Claims *of Right and Power; and ſubtle Diſtinctions were coined to juſtify the Perſecution of the one Side, and condemn that of the other. Thus the Church of* Rome, *who finds ſuch Difficulty to preſs a* ſingle Text *into its Service out of the Holy Scriptures, is enabled to produce Authorities in Abundance from the Fathers of the Fourth and following Centuries, in ſupport of the worſt of Cauſes, the Cauſe of Perſecution. Let us therefore now proceed to its Effects and Conſequences.*

VIII. *IN the firſt Place, the* Roman *Church, as the* Univerſal Mother, *extends her Claim of* Parental Juriſdiction, *not only over her own Members, but over every other Sect of Chriſtians in the World; and never fails to exerciſe this Power whenever ſhe can: For all Hereticks are ſtill to be conſidered as her Children, though* diſobedient *and* rebellious; *and the more obſtinately they perſiſt in their* Crimes, *the ſtronger are the Reaſons why ſhe ſhould exert a* Parent's *Right in* Chaſtizing *them, if they are not prevailed upon by gentle Methods.*

IN the next Place, as the Church hath an unalieniable Right to the filial *Obedience of all her Children,*

dren, no temporal Prince, or civil Magiſtrate, ought to covenant or agree with the Delinquents, *that this Obedience ſhould not be paid; for this would be doing an Injuſtice to the* common Parent: *And the civil Magiſtrate, who is bound in Conſcience, as a* good Catholick, *both to reverence and obey her himſelf, and not to* conſent *to the Violation of her Authority by his* own Subjects, *cannot diſannul this* ſuperior *and* prior *Obligation by any pretended Engagements to the contrary*

SUPPOSE therefore he took an Oath to grant Liberty of Conſcience, and the free Exerciſe of Religion, to Proteſtants *or* Hereticks;—— *Suppoſe he ſtipulated, that he would hold ſacred the Rights of private Judgment, provided nothing was broached offenſive to good Manners and civil Society;—Suppoſe this was made the expreſs* Condition *of his being* admitted *to reign over them;—Why, ſuch Oaths, and ſuch Conditions, are* null in themſelves; *and he ought not to perform what he had* NO RIGHT *to promiſe. A* Catholick Prince, *who comes under any Engagements with his* Proteſtant Subjects, inconſiſtent *with the Duty owing to the* common Parent, *was guilty of a* Crime *in coming under ſuch Engagements, but will be guilty of a* much worſe *in keeping them.*

IX. *THE Conſequences of ſuch Poſitions are very* plain *and* obvious;—*and ſtill the more dreadful, when we come to view them exemplified in Practice. For it is obſervable of* ALL *the States and Kingdoms of the* Romiſh *Perſuaſion, that they* NEVER CEASE *to perſecute the* Proteſtants *in one Degree or other; ſo*

that the mildeſt *Treatment they vouchſafe to give, would be reckoned* barbarous *and* cruel *in this happy Land of Liberty, if the* Catholicks *in* England *were to meet with ſuch Uſage. Nor is it to be forgotten,* that the Laws in force againſt the Proteſtants Abroad, are not only* ſevere, *and in ſome Inſtances* cruel *and* ſhocking, *but alſo that the great Body of the* Romiſh *Communion are led by the* Spirit *and* Tenor *of their Religion to eſteem it* meritorious *to execute theſe Laws with the utmoſt Rigor. And the Doctrine of their Church, concerning the* Piety *of* extirpating Hereſy, *joined to that of* Pardons *and* Indulgences, *hath a ſtrange Effect in diſpoſing them to believe, that their* perſonal Vices *and* favourite Sins *may be* atoned *for by a* warmer *and* fiercer Zeal *for the* Catholick Cauſe. *As to the Popiſh Clergy in particular, it is their Unhappineſs, not only to have theſe Prejudices in common with others, but alſo to be ſpurred on to act with the greater Violence by the Temptations of Self-Intereſt and preſent Advantage. And I cannot omit obſerving, that the Edicts of the* preſent *King of* France *are framed with ſo much Art and Policy, that they will in a great Meaſure* execute themſelves, *both by the Encouragements given to* Informers, *and the Penalties which the* new-converted *Catholicks are ſubject to, if they are obſerved to favour in the leaſt Degree the Meetings of Proteſtants; nay, if they are not extremely vigilant in detecting and proſecuting them, though they ſhould happen to be their own Children, or neareſt and deareſt Relations. In ſhort, the greateſt Favour the Proteſtants can expect from a Popiſh Government,*

* See the Tract entitled, *Popery always the ſame*, Printed for B. Dod in *Ave-Mary Lane*, *London*, 1746.

Government, is only ſuch a Connivance, *as may rather be called a* Reſpite *from Perſecution, than a real Protection. For as to a* legal, ſolid TOLERATION, POPERY *ſuffers* no ſuch Thing, *however ſolemnly ſtipulated; witneſs the faithleſs and cruel Revocation of the Edict of* Nantz, *and the many ſevere Puniſhments inflicted ſince that Time, to this very Hour, upon Subjects unqueſtionably loyal.*

X. *THIS being the State of the Caſe, let us now conſider, how far we may rely on thoſe* ſpecious *Declarations ſometimes made by the more* moderate *Party of the* Romiſh *Communion againſt Perſecution.*

IT is true, they condemn with great Warmth, and we charitably hope with equal Sincerity, the Proceedings againſt Proteſtants *in* particular *Caſes, and ſcruple not to blame the Authors and Adviſers of them. But let not the* unwary Proteſtant *be deceived by ſo fair an Appearance: For though they inveigh againſt the Practice in* particular *Inſtances, they do not renounce the main Principle on which the ſuppoſed Right of Perſecution is founded: And it is one Thing to ſay with the* CONSISTENT PROTESTANT, *That the Chriſtian Religion gives* NO RIGHT *to perſecute Men for* mere *Matters of Conſcience; and another, that there may be a* wrong Application, *or an* improper Uſe *made of this imginary Right. Now the former is a Poſition they* never can *ſubſcribe to,* as Roman Catholicks, *though they may very heartily and ſincerely join with the latter. And therefore, while they hold that the* Roman Catholick Church *hath* ſtill *a* Parental *Authority, and an* inherent *Juriſdiction over* Hereticks, *their Declarations againſt*

Perſecution

Perſecution amount to no more, than againſt the improper *Exerciſe of it. So that upon the whole, the Claim of Right being ſtill kept up, there can be no Security for* Proteſtants *againſt ſuffering the dreadful Effects of it, whenever it is* judged more expedient *to* perſecute *than to* forbear; *and of this* private Perſons, *or* particular Writers, *are not allowed to be Judges.*

XI. *THUS much I thought neceſſary to lay before the* Engliſh *Reader, concerning the Hardſhips and Sufferings of his* Fellow Proteſtants *Abroad; and I flatter myſelf he will not be diſpleaſed with my Endeavours to place theſe Things before him in their* true Light. *Mankind are apt to take their Ideas of Foreign Countries, and diſtant Things, from thoſe they have been moſt accuſtomed to at Home. And as it is our preſent Happineſs in theſe Kingdoms to enjoy a Liberty of Conſcience (whereby thoſe who* diſſent *from the eſtabliſhed Church are permitted to live in the utmoſt Security) it is natural for us to conceive of the* Foreign Proteſtants, *only as in the Condition of* Diſſenters *from the* national *Church,—or at the worſt, as being upon the ſame Footing with the* Roman Catholicks *in* England. *But Concluſions of this Nature are extremely fallacious, and might prevent our having that* Fellow-feeling *for the Sufferings of our Brethren, which we ought to have. For the Laws in* England *againſt the* Roman Catholicks *are upon a very different Foundation from thoſe of the* Popiſh *Princes againſt their* Proteſtant Subjects; *the* Roman Catholicks *being conſidered in this Kingdom, not as a* Sect *in Religion, but as a* Faction *againſt the State, whoſe* reigning Principles, *both as to Religion and Government, lead them to ſeek the*

the Ruin and Deſtruction of Proteſtants,—*and which they have* very often, *though hitherto (God be praiſed) unſucceſsfully attempted. But what is the Intent, and what were the* Occaſions *of* enacting *thoſe ſeveral Laws?—Not ſurely to* harraſs *and* oppreſs *the Papiſts (God forbid) but to* ſecure *ourſelves. And therefore, though the* Principles *of the* Engliſh *Catholicks can deſerve* no Favour, *or* Connivance *from a* Proteſtant *Parliament, and a* Proteſtant *Houſe of* HANOVER, *yet as long as their* Practice *continues to be* inoffenſive, *theſe Laws are never executed. And the* Roman *Catholicks in* England *enjoy the Benefit of a Toleration, as to all the Purpoſes of Conſcience and Religion. Though viewing their Principles in the moſt favourable Light, Papiſts, as ſuch, certainly diſavow and deny the* ſupreme *Authority of the* Britiſh *Government, and hold themſelves* ſubject *to a* foreign *Juriſdiction, which to them is infallible and ſupreme.*

LET the candid and benevolent Reader now compare their Caſe with that of the poor, perſecuted Proteſtants Abroad: Let him conceive himſelf in the Situation of thoſe unhappy Sufferers, helpleſs and diſtreſſed, forced to abandon all his Poſſeſſions, his deareſt Relations, and his native Country, and fleeing from his Perſecutors into a Land of Strangers, where he only deſires a ſecure Retreat, with an Excluſion *from all publick Employments, and from Parliament, and upon his giving the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of Fidelity to the Government, to be received as a faithful Subject;—and may the Almighty direct him to form ſuch a Judgment concerning the Treatment due to Perſons in theſe Circumſtances as becomes a* CHRISTIAN *and a* PROTESTANT.

IMPORT-

BRITISH MUSEUM

IMPORTANT QUERIES,

OCCASIONED BY

The Rejection of the late

NATURALIZATION BILL.

SECTION I.

Preliminaries relating to popular Prejudices;— The Terms Foreigner *and* Engliſhman;— *And the Service which Foreigners have formerly done to the Commerce of this Nation.*

I. WHETHER popular Prejudices are to be conſidered as the Teſt of Truth? Whether there have not been the moſt violent Oppoſitions againſt Chriſtian Forbearance and *Toleration* in each Part of the united King-

dom;——againſt making Hedges and Encloſures;—againſt mending the High Roads, by erecting Turnpikes;—and againſt almoſt every Publick-ſpirited Undertaking, and uſeful Invention, when firſt attempted? And whether the ſame *deluded* Populace, who clamoured againſt the Admiſſion of Foreigners about forty Years ago, were not likewiſe ſo far infatuated as to cry, *The landed Intereſt*,—NO TRADE, NO MERCHANTS?

II. WHETHER the Word *Foreigner*, as commonly uſed, doth not carry with it an Idea of Contempt and Reproach? Whether the *Engliſh* Nation have any juſt Grounds for treating others in this Manner? And indeed, Whether thoſe Natives, who purſue Meaſures pernicious to their Country, ſhould not be ranked as Aliens? And thoſe Foreigners, who conduce by their Induſtry and Virtue to the Publick Good of this Kingdom, be reſpected as Natives?

III. WHETHER we do not originally owe all our Knowledge in the ſeveral Manufactures of Cloths, Stuffs, Serges, Druggets, Silks, Velvet, Ribbands, Laces, Cottons, Linens, Paper, Hats, Iron, Steel, Copper, Braſs, *&c.* to the Inſtruction of Foreigners? Whether therefore, our Anceſtors acted wiſely, or conſulted the *real* Welfare of their Country, in endeavouring to prevent ſuch Manufacturers from

from ſettling in this Kingdom;—tho' their eſtabliſhment was oppoſed from the ſame ill-grounded Apprehenſions which now ſubſiſt, that ſuch *Foreigners came to eat the Bread out of the Mouths of the Natives.*

SECTION II.

The Introduction of New Manufactures;—The Improvement of others;—And the Extention of Commerce.

I. WHETHER it can be known, *before Trial is made*, that Foreigners cannot ſtill introduce ſome *new* Manufacture, or *improve* thoſe already eſtabliſhed? And what Effect muſt Goodneſs of Work, and Cheapneſs of Labour, have upon our Foreign Trade?

II. WHETHER it is not aſſuredly known, that Foreigners do ſtill excel us in making ſeveral Sorts of Paper, ſome Kinds of Silks, Velvets, and Brocades, Gold and Silver Stuffs, and all Sorts of Embroidery, Thread, Thread Laces of various Kinds, Gold and Silver Laces, alſo in Dying of Blacks and Scarlets, making of thin Cloth for the *Southern* Countries, Carpets * and Tapeſtry, in many Branches of the

* CARPETS and Tapeſtry.] There is a Law now ſubſiſting, made the 25th of *Charles* II. Chap. 15.

the Linen, Cambrick, and Lawn Manufactures, Drawing and Deſigning, Carving, Gilding,

Anno Dom. 1663. for the Naturalization of all Perſons concerned in the Manufactures of Linen and Tapeſtry; the Recital of which may not be unacceptable to ſome of my Readers.

An Act for encouraging the Manufactures of making Linen Cloth, and Tapeſtry.

" I. WHEREAS vaſt Quantities of Linen Cloth, and " other Manufactures of Hemp and Flax, and of Ta- " peſtry Hangings, are daily imported into this King- " dom from foreign Parts, to the great Detriment and " Impoveriſhment thereof; the Monies and quick Stock " of this Kingdom being thereby daily exhauſted and " diminiſhed, and the Poor thereof unemployed; while " the Materials for the making of ſuch Hangings are " here more plentiful, and better, and cheaper, than " in thoſe Places from whence they are imported; and " Flax and Hemp might be had here in great Abun- " dance, and very good, if by ſetting up the Manu- " factures of ſuch Commodities as are made thereof, it " would be taken off the Hands of ſuch as ſow and " plant the ſame.

" II. FOR the Encouragement therefore of thoſe Ma- " nufactures, Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by " the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the " Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Tem- " poral, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſ- " ſembled, and by the Authority thereof, that from " and after the Firſt Day of *October* next enſuing, it " ſhall and may be lawful for any Perſon or Perſons " whatſoever, *Native* or *Foreigner*, freely, and *with- " out paying any Acknowledgment*, Fee, or other Gratui- " ty for the ſame, in any Place of *England* or *Wales*,

" *Privileged*

ing, and Coach-making, Statuary, Painting, and Prints, alſo in *Nuremburg*, and ſome other Sorts

" *Privileged* or *Unprivileged*, *Corporate* or *not Corporate*, to ſet up and exerciſe the Trade, Occupation, or Myſtery of breaking, hickling, or dreſſing of Hemp or Flax; as alſo for making and whitening of Thread, and of ſpinning, weaving, making, whitening, or bleaching of any Sort of Cloth whatſoever, made of Hemp or Flax only: As alſo the Trade, Occupation, or Myſtery of making of Twine or Nets for Fiſhery, or of ſtowing of Cordage; as alſo the Trade, Occupation, or Myſtery of making any Sort of Tapeſtry-Hangings, *any Law, Statute, or Uſage to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.*

" III. AND all Foreigners that ſhall really, and bonâ fide, ſet up and uſe any of the Trades and Manufactures aforeſaid, by the Space of three Years, in this Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, ſhall from thenceforth, taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy before two Juſtices of the Peace, near unto their Dwellings, who are hereby authoriſed to adminiſter the ſame, *enjoy all Privileges whatſoever, as the natural-born Subjects of this Kingdom.*

" IV. AND it is hereby enacted and declared, That ſuch Foreigners as ſhall exerciſe any of the Trades aforeſaid by Virtue of this Act, ſhall not at any Time be liable to any other or greater Taxes, Payments, or Impoſitions, than ſuch as are or ſhall be paid by his Majeſty's natural-born Subjects, unleſs they ſhall uſe and exerciſe Merchandize into and from Foreign Parts; in which Caſe, they ſhall be liable to pay ſuch Cuſtoms as have uſually been paid by Aliens, during the Space of five Years next enſuing, and *no longer.*"

IT

Sorts of Toys, making of Soap, Porcelaine, and Dreſſing ſome Kinds of Leather, Cutting and Engraving upon Glaſs, making and tempering of Steel, *&c. &c.* And whether it be not the Intereſt of the People of *England* to give a *rational Invitation* to ſuch Foreign Manufacturers to ſettle here, for the Increaſe of uſeful and induſtrious Hands, which are beyond Diſpute the Strength and Riches of a Nation?

III. WHETHER the Trade of *Great Britain* is not capable of being farther extended?—— And whether more Hands, New Adventurers, a larger Correſpondence, greater Induſtry, Frugality, and Sobriety, might not encreaſe our Manufactures, Commerce, Navigation, and national Riches? And whether the Connection of thoſe that come hither with their Relations and Acquaintance left behind, would not extend our Trade by New Correſpondence, New Commiſſions, and New Traffick?

SECTION

IT were greatly to be wiſhed, that the Contents of this Law were univerſally known, that the Publick might reap the Benefit intended by it; for at preſent it ſeems to be almoſt as much forgot, as if it had never been made. However, this is a ſufficient Proof, that the Naturalization of Foreign Manufacturers, according to the Opinion of the Legiſlature, is a Means of employing the Poor, not of *taking the Bread out of their Mouths.*

SECTION III.

Materials for Labour, and for Employing the Poor.

I. WHETHER we work up at preſent all ſuch raw Materials as either are, or might be raiſed in *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, and our own Plantations, or imported from Abroad? That is, Whether we might not make uſe of much larger Quantities of * Wool, raw Silk, Cotton, Hemp, Flax, Iron, Copper,

* WOOL.] The Oppoſers of this Bill here object, that we lately worked up all the Wool that grew in the Kingdom, without the Aſſiſtance of Foreigners; therefore they infer, there would not be Wool enough for a greater Number.——But they are deſired to conſider,

I. THAT this Kingdom might raiſe and feed much greater Quantities of Sheep, than there are at preſent, by proper Improvements, without taking any Lands from Tillage;—nay, greatly to the enriching of the ploughed Grounds. The Method of feeding Sheep upon Turneps during Winter, is ſcarce known in the Principality of *Wales*, and very little practiſed in many Counties in *England*; ſo that they are obliged to ſell off their Increaſe every Year, leſt they ſhould have too large a Stock for the Winter Fodder.

II. THAT the *French* import annually from *Bilboa*, &c. about 12000 Bags of fine Wool; beſides the vaſt Quantities of a coarſer Sort, which are brought into *Provence*

per, Braſs, * Tin, Lead, *&c.* in our reſpective Manufactures, than we now do? And whether there can be a Want of Materials, as long as they may be either raiſed at Home, or imported from Abroad?

II. WHETHER

Provence and *Languedoc*, from *Catalonia* and the South of *Spain*: Whereas the *Engliſh* do not import 5000 Bags in all. Likewiſe the *French* bring Wool from *Africa* and *Turkey*, alſo from the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, and *Poland*; all which Markets might be as open to the *Engliſh* as they are to the *French*, if our Commerce were ſufficiently enlarged.

III. IF there ſhould, by Means of a large and open Trade, and in Exchange for our Fiſh and Manufactures, be an *Increaſe* of the Importation of *raw* Silk, Cotton, Flax, *&c.* to be worked up and *wore* at Home,—the Conſequence would be the ſame to the Kingdom, as if there was an actual Increaſe of the Growth of Wool, becauſe this would be a Means of *ſaving* ſo much Wool to be manufactured for other Purpoſes.

IV. IF the above Reaſoning of the Objectors were concluſive, then it would follow, that the *French* muſt diſmiſs at leaſt three fourths of their Woolen Manufacturers, as there is hardly Wool enough growing in *France* to employ a fourth Part of their preſent Numbers: And the *Engliſh* muſt ſend away ALL their Silk Manufacturers, as there is no raw Silk growing in *England*. Theſe are the Concluſions which neceſſarily follow from ſuch Principles!

* TIN.] An higher Duty upon the Exportation of Block-Tin, and proper Encouragement for exporting it when manufactured, would create Employment for thouſands of our Poor: By theſe Means we ſhould reap all poſſible Advantage from this valuable Metal,—eſpecially as it is almoſt entirely in our own Hands.

II. WHETHER in fact any Country wants the neceſſary Materials for Labour, either in itſelf, or by Introduction, if the Inhabitants were inclined to uſe them, and were properly inſtructed?

III. WHETHER we may not give a better Account of ſome Perſons at preſent wanting Employment, than by the Suppoſition of want of Materials for Labour?

SECTION IV.

The Cauſes of ſo many Perſons being now unemployed.

I. IS there not ſuch a Thing as the *Circulation* of *Labour*, as well as the *Circulation* of *Money?* And whether the Circulation of Money without Labour, is not rather prejudicial than ſerviceable to Society?—— Are not Lotteries, Gaming, *&c.* ſtrong and melancholly Proofs of this Matter?

II. WHETHER the true Method of finding out the Cauſes of the want of Employment is not, firſt to enquire, What are the *Impediments* to the Circulation of Labour?

III. WHETHER Labour can ſo well be circulated in a Country thinly peopled, as in one

very populous, where the Inhabitants create mutual Employment for each other? And whether it is not obſervable, that the People in thoſe Countries which are thinly inhabited, are forced to ſeek for Employment in *diſtant populous* Places, for want of Work at Home?

IV. WHETHER Monopolies, excluſive Privileges, and Combinations, are not ſo many Clogs upon the Circulation of Labour?

V. WHETHER the * artificial Wants of Mankind, *properly circumſtanced, and under due Regulations*, are not the great Maſter-Spring of the Machine of Commerce?

VI. BUT

* THE *natural* Wants of Mankind can be but few. Food, and Raiment, and Shelter from the Weather, are very ſimple Things, which the moſt *indolent* Perſons might generally procure for themſelves, as far as would anſwer the Purpoſes of *Animal* Life. But as ſuch a State would be little different from that of *Brutes*, moſt of thoſe *moral Obligations* which now conſtitute *ſocial* Virtue, or *relative* Duty, would have been *unknown*.—If therefore it was the Wiſdom of Providence, that there ſhould be Relations and Subordinations in Society, the *artificial* Wants of Mankind will ever be found to be relative to their Stations; and the better any Perſon diſcharges the Duties of that Sphere of Life he belongs to, the more he will be enabled to contribute to the preſent Happineſs of Society, by promoting a *regular* and *permanent* Circulation of Induſtry and Labour, through the ſeveral Ranks he is connected with. This is an *eſſential* Point, in which Mankind differ from the Brute Creation.

VI. BUT when theſe Wants degenerate into *Vice*, *Intemperance*, and *Extravagance*, whether they do not then become a great Obſtacle to the *conſtant* and *regular* Motion of this Machine;—and indeed, have a neceſſary Tendency to make it ſtop at laſt?

VII. WHETHER *Commerce*, conſidered in its *general* Extent, and GOOD MORALS, are not *inſeparably* connected? Whether therefore, the great Corruption of Morals now prevailing, is not the true Source of many Perſons wanting Employment, as they become diſinclined to Labour, and cannot be truſted with Materials to work up?

VIII. WHETHER the artificial Wants of *Gin-drinkers* are of ſo *extenſive* or *commercial* a Nature, as thoſe of ſober, frugal, and induſtrious People, who exchange their own Labour for the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life, that is, for the Labour of others; and increaſe the Number of Inhabitants by breeding up *Families* to *continue* the ſame honeſt Courſe after them?

IX. WHETHER Gaming and Debauchery, Poverty, Idleneſs, and Diſeaſe, can, in the main, create any Employment, but for two Sorts of Occupations, the *Hangman*, and the *Sexton?*

X. WHETHER a depraved and vicious People will work as *cheap*, or as *well*, as thoſe that are ſober and virtuous? Whether our Trade to foreign Parts doth not ſuffer upon this Account? And whether more Goods might not be exported, if we worked either cheaper or better than we now do? Whether therefore our *National Vices* are not in this View alſo another Cauſe of the want of Employment?

XI. IN controverted Points of Commerce (where there are Petitions and Counter-Petitions, where Merchants and Traders in their Applications to Parliament aſſert direct Contradictions) is there not an eaſy natural Way of diſcovering the general and national Intereſt, *viz.* ☞ *Which Scheme tends to find a conſtant Employ for moſt Hands at Home, and to export moſt Labour Abroad?* And whether the Anſwer to this Queſtion ought not *always* to decide the Controverſy?

XII. WHETHER the keeping out of ſober, frugal, and induſtrious Foreigners, will create more Employment at Home, or be a Means of exporting greater Quantities of Manufactures Abroad?

SECTION

SECTION V.

Other ſuppoſed Cauſes of the want of Employment propoſed and conſidered.

I. WHETHER it is poſſible in the Nature of Things, for ALL Trades and Profeſſions to be *over-ſtocked?* And whether, if you were to remove any proportional Number from each Calling, the Remainder would not have the ſame Grounds of Complaint they had before?

II. WHETHER, in fact, any Tradeſman thinks there are too many of *other Occupations* to become *his* CUSTOMERS;—tho' narrow, ſelfiſh Views lead him to wiſh there were fewer of his own Trade?

III. * IF a particular Trade is at any Time over-ſtocked, will not the Diſeaſe cure itſelf? That is, Will not ſome Perſons take to other Trades,

* SOME Trades muſt ever be fluctuating according to the Changes of Dreſs, and the Caprice of Faſhions; and therefore, for the moſt Part, will either have *too many*, or *too few* Hands belonging to them. In ſuch Circumſtances, many Perſons belonging to the Trade which is deſerted by the Mode, will want Employment: But who can urge this as an Argument againſt a Naturalization Bill? And would not the ſame Thing happen, if there were but a Tenth of the People in *England* which now are? And do not all Towns thinly inhabited experience this?

LIKEWISE

Trades, and fewer young People be bred up to that which is leaſt profitable? And Whether any other Remedy but this, is not, in fact, the curing *one, tranſient* Diſorder, by bringing on *many* which are *dangerous* and will grow *inveterate?*

IV. If we have a conſiderable Number of Hands now unemployed, for the want of a Demand for their Labour, Which would be the right Policy, To drive out ſome of the preſent? Or admit more Conſumers?

V. Suppose the Expulſion of one half of the People of all Denominations in *Great Britain*,——Would this be a Means of procuring more Work for them that remained? Or would not *five* Millions more of People increaſe all Employments and Conſumptions one half?

VI. Whether Sir *Joſiah Child* did not call it a Vulgar Error to ſay, *We have more Hands than we can employ?* Whether he was a Judge of Trade? And Whether it is not an infallible Maxim, That one Man's Labour creates Employment for another?

SECTION

Likewise a long and general National Mourning is another Cauſe, why there muſt be a great Demand for one Species of Goods, and none at all for another.—But Accidents of this Nature are not to be prevented; and the ſame Thing might have happened in *France*, or in any other Country, without any Relation to the Number of People in that Country.

SECTION VI.

The Plea, "Let us firſt find Employment for "theſe Foreigners before we invite them "over," *conſidered and examined.*

I. WHETHER a Naturalization Bill ever *did*, or *can* paſs in any Country upon ſuch a Plan? And Whether this Reaſoning would be admitted in any other Caſe?

II. IF *Vacancies* are firſt to be found out in ſome *particular* Trades, and kept *unfilled*, before the Foreigners are permitted to come over, What Kind of Trades are they to be? And What *Cuſtomers* can *wait* ſo long?

III. ARE not young People bound Apprentices every Day to Bakers, Butchers, Taylors, *&c?* Do they know of any Vacancies before they ſet up? Or is it poſſible, if a Perſon wants to buy Bread, Meat, or Cloaths, he can ſtay till the Apprentices are out of their Time, and have ſet up for themſelves?

IV. WHAT Vacancies are there now in *Holland?* And yet if forty thouſand Foreigners were to offer to ſettle there, Would they not be all accepted?

V. WHETHER

V. WHETHER the Quantity of Labour, or the Means of Employment, are not in Proportion to the Number of Inhabitants? Whether therefore, if there were but ten thouſand People in this Iſland, Many of thoſe would not want Employ? And Whether indeed, upon ſuch a Suppoſition, the People would not be in the ſame Caſe with the wild *Indians* of *America*?

VI. IF there were but ten thouſand Inhabitants, and moſt of thoſe in want of a proper and regular Employ, Would this be a good Reaſon why no Foreigners ſhould be called in? —Or if this want of Employment for the Natives is a ſufficient Reaſon againſt the Admiſſion of Foreigners, doth it not hold equally concluſive againſt permitting more Children to be born, till thoſe who are already born are all provided with Employments?

VII. How different from this is our own Policy with Regard to our Plantations, where the Value of Numbers of People is juſtly regarded?

SECTION VII.

The Encreaſe of Inhabitants the STRENGTH *of a Kingdom.*

I. WHETHER there be not a certain Text in the Bible, in relation to which,

which the Generality of the *Engliſh* are *hereditary* Infidels, *viz.* Prov. xiv. 28. *In the Multitude of People is the King's Honour?* Whether this agrees with their Maxim, That we have too many People already?

II. WHETHER the *French* do not pay a greater Regard to this Obſervation of the wiſeſt of Men, than we do? And while they are encouraging Matrimony in poor People, by the moſt engaging and honourable Methods, Whether our Church-wardens in the Country do not often uſurp a Power to forbid the Banns of poor People, leſt they ſhould become burdenſome to the Pariſh?

III. WHETHER the young Duke of *Burgundy*, when he arrives to thirty Years of Age, may not be able to bring into the Field a conſiderable Body of young Men, in the Flower of their Age, who owed their Birth to his? ——Whether it is to be expected, that one *Engliſhman* is to beat ten of theſe?

IV. WHAT is the Strength of a Country? ——Whether thoſe Countries are not the ſtrongeſt (*cæteris paribus*) which are the moſt populous?

V. CAN a poor Nation equip or maintain a large *Naval* Force? Can a Country thinly inhabited be otherwiſe than poor? Or can

ſuch a Country ſpare ſufficient Numbers to fight its Battels, without greatly injuring its Agriculture and Manufactures?

VI. WHICH is the juſteſt Notion, this of the *Engliſh*, That they are too populous;—or that of Sir *William Petty*, who wiſhed, That all the Inhabitants of *Scotland* and *Ireland* were tranſplanted into *England*, and then thoſe Countries ſunk in the Sea?

VII. WHETHER, according to theſe narrow Notions, *That we have too many People already*, it doth not follow, that it is a *national* Advantage, that ſo many People lay violent Hands upon themſelves,——leſt we ſhould be *over-burdened* with Numbers?

VIII. WHETHER there is any Country, in which there are ſo frequent Executions,—or ſo many who kill themſelves by their Intemperance and Debauchery, as in *England?*——

IX. Is there any Nation, Proteſtant or Popiſh, where the Mode of living Batchelors prevails ſo much as it doth at preſent among Us?—Where there are ſo few Children the Iſſue of the Marriage State?—And where ſo many young Perſons die between the Birth and the Age of Twenty One Years? Whether therefore there is any Country where a Naturalization Bill is ſo neceſſary as it is now in *England*,

England, for the keeping up the preſent Stock of Inhabitants?

SECTION VIII.

The Increaſe of People the RICHES *of a Country.*

I. WHAT are the Riches of a Country? ——Land? Money? or Labour? What is the Value of Land, but in Proportion to the Numbers of People? What is Money, but a Common Meaſure, Tally, or Counter, to ſet forth or denominate the Price of Labour in the ſeveral Transfers of it?

II. IF Labour is the true Riches, and Money only the Sign or Tally, Is not that Country the wealthieſt, which has the moſt Labour? And hath not that Country the moſt Labour, which hath the moſt People to create mutual Employment for each other?

III. WAS a Country *thinly* inhabited ever *rich?*——Was a *populous* Country ever *poor?*

IV. WHETHER the ſingle Province of *Holland* * is above half as large as the County of *Devon?*

* THE Sentiments of his late Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, may be worth conſidering on this Occaſion, both on account of the Authority of the Perſon and the Reaſon of the Thing. In the Tract entitled, *Propoſals made*

Devon? Whether it hath not ten Times the Inhabitants, and at leaſt twenty Times the Riches? Does not raiſe more Money for publick Service, and furniſh larger Fleets and Armies?

V. WHAT

made to the States General for redreſſing and amending the Trade of the Republick, he obſerves, Page 12 and 13, That among the moral and political Cauſes for the ſettling and eſtabliſhing of Commerce in that Republick, the following were the chief, "The unalterable Maxim "and fundamental Law, relating to the free Exerciſe of "different Religions.—This Toleration and Connivance "hath been found the moſt effectual Means to draw "Foreigners to ſettle and reſide here, and ſo become "inſtrumental to the peopling of theſe Provinces.

"THE conſtant Policy of the Republick has been to "make this Country a perpetual, ſafe, and ſecure Aſy-"lum for all perſecuted and oppreſſed Strangers: No "Alliance, no Treaty or Regard for, or Solicitations "from any Potentate whatever, has at any Time been "able to weaken or deſtroy, or make the State recede "from protecting thoſe who have fled to it for their "own Security and Self-Preſervation.

"THROUGHOUT the whole Courſe of all the Perſe-"cutions and Oppreſſions that have occurred in other "Countries, the ſteady Adherence of the Republick to "this fundamental Law, has been the Cauſe that many "People have not only fled hither for Refuge, with "their whole Stock in ready Caſh, and their moſt va-"luable Effects, but have alſo ſettled and eſtabliſhed "many Trades, Fabricks, Manufactures, Arts and "Sciences in this Country, & notwithſtanding the firſt "Materials for the ſaid Fabricks and Manufactures "were almoſt wholly wanting in it, and not to be pro-"cured but at a great Expence from foreign Parts."

V. WHAT is the Balance of Trade in favour of one Nation againſt another?——If there are forty thouſand Perſons in *France* or *Sweden*, working up their Manufactures to ſend to *England*;—and only ten thouſand at work in *England* for *France* or *Sweden*, Which Nation hath the Balance?——If it is allowed that *France* and *Sweden* hath the Balance, would it not be to the Advantage of *England* to get that Number of Manufacturers, by which they exceed us, removed out of *France* and *Sweden*, and ſettled here?

VII. WERE an Eſtimate to be taken of the Wealth of *England*, which Way would it be rated? By Acres? By Houſes? By Stock? By Merchandize? But do not all theſe depend on the Number of Inhabitants, who are to occupy, to uſe, to buy and ſell, to manufacture, transfer, and export theſe Things, or the Produce of them?

SECTION IX.

The Increaſe of People the Increaſe of RENT *to the* Landlord.

I. WHETHER Lands near *London* are not rented at forty Times the Value of Lands of equal Goodneſs in ſome of the remote

remote Parts of *England*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*? What is this Difference in the Rent owing to, but the ſuperior Number of Inhabitants? And that theſe diſtant Lands pay any Rent at all, is it not owing to the carrying the Produce of them to diſtant *populous* Places?

II. If the City of *Briſtol* could be removed forty Miles off, would not all the Eſtates now around it ſink in Value?

III. If a Peſtilence was to ſweep away 100,000 People in the North or Weſt of *England*, and none from other Parts permitted to come in to ſupply this Loſs, would not the Rents of Lands immediately fall in thoſe Counties?—On the contrary, if 100,000 Foreigners, of various Employments, were to be naturalized, and increaſe the Conſumptions of the Produce of the neighbouring Lands, would there not be a proportionable Riſe in its Value?

IV. How can Tenants pay their Rents, if they cannot find a Market? And what is a Market, but a Collection of Inhabitants?

SECTION

SECTION X.

The Improvements *of Lands depend upon the Increaſe of People.*

I. WHETHER the Lands of *Great Britain* are improved to the utmoſt?——And what is the Reaſon that one Acre of Land near a large Town, ſhall produce ten times the Crop that an Acre of *unimproved* Land (though in itſelf of equal Goodneſs) generally yields in a diſtant Country Place? If the Soil of the Town is the Cauſe of this Fertility, what occaſions ſuch a Quantity of Soil or Compoſt? Is it not the Number of Inhabitants?

II. ARE there not Millions of Acres in private Hands (beſides Commons, Marſhes, Fens, Heaths, and Foreſts) which might produce ten Times the Quantity of Herbage or Proviſions they now do, were they properly cultivated, and a Demand for the Produce?

III. WHAT Encouragement hath a Gentleman to cultivate and improve his Lands, if his Gains thereby are not at leaſt equal to the Expence he may be at? And from whence can his Gains ariſe in an *inland* County, but from

from an Increaſe of Inhabitants to conſume the Increaſe of Produce?

IV. Is the preſent Complaint a juſt one, That Country People are too fond of breeding up their Children to eaſy handicraft Trades, rather than to the laborious Buſineſs of Huſbandry? And will the keeping out of Foreigners mend that Matter?

V. If the Country is the great Source of Recruits for Trades and Services, whether thoſe Foreigners, who now come over as Journeymen and Footmen, do not *eventually* prevent the taking great Numbers from the Plough? —Suppoſe theſe Foreigners were all expelled, would not their Places be filled up, for the moſt Part, with Perſons who muſt otherwiſe have been bred up to Country Buſineſs?

VI. Are there no Improvements yet to be learned from other Nations in point of Agriculture? And are we ſure that Foreigners, from whom we have received ſo many uſeful Diſcoveries in ſowing of Graſſes, in Gardening, and other Parts of Huſbandry, can teach us nothing more?

VII. Was a Country thinly inhabited ever well cultivated?—Which Parts of *England* are the beſt improved? Thoſe which have the feweſt,

feweſt, or thoſe which have the greateſt Number of Inhabitants?

VIII. Is it Policy and good Prudence to leave ſo many vaſt Wilds and Commons near the Metropolis of a Kingdom? What are they now but a Rendezvous for Highway-Men, a Scene for the Commiſſion of Robberies, and a Means of eſcaping?——Could all this have been, if theſe Places were well cultivated, and *properly enclоſed*, and better inhabited?

SECTION XI.

The Landed *and the* Commercial *Intereſts of the* Kingdom *center in the ſame Point.*

I. WHAT is the true Landed Intereſt?——Can any Scheme advantageous to our *National Commerce* be repugnant to the Intereſt of the Land-holders?

II. If Commerce is depreſſed, if our Rivals get our Trade, if Houſes are forſaken, Merchants remove, and Manufacturers forced to fly away,——what then becomes of Farms and Dairies? How will the Tenant pay his Rent? How will the Landed Gentleman be able to ſupport his Rank and Station, and allow for Taxes and Repairs?

III. If Commerce be encouraged, and Merchants and Manufacturers grow more numerous, if all Fetters and Shackles upon Trade are taken off, if there be a briſker Circulation, and a ſurer Market, where will theſe Advantages terminate but upon the Landed Intereſt?

IV. When Landed Gentlemen are perſwaded to exclude Foreigners, and to lay Reſtraints upon Trade, do they not act againſt their own Intereſt? And are they not the *Dupes* of thoſe *monopolizing* Tradeſmen, who have ſet up a low, perſonal Intereſt of their own in Oppoſition to that of the Publick?

SECTION XII.

The Caſe of Foreigners who have Money in the Publick Funds, and of rich Merchants and Tradeſmen in ſome foreign Countries.

I. If Labour be the Riches of a Country, what Sort of Inhabitants create moſt Labour?—Thoſe that can afford to purchaſe a few of the Conveniencies and Ornaments of Life? Or thoſe who are able to pay for a great many? If the latter, whether it is not the Intereſt of the Nation to INVITE all the Foreigners, who have Money in our publick Funds, to come over, and ſpend it among Us?

II. If

II. IF there are between 15 and 20 Millions of Money in our publick Funds due to Foreigners, is not this Sum to be conſidered in the ſame Light as a Mortgage on a private Gentleman's Eſtate?——And in that Caſe, is it not the Borrower's Intereſt to INVITE and REQUEST the Lender to reſide on, and pay Rent for Part of the mortgaged Eſtate, and to buy all he wants of the Tenants and Tradeſmen thereunto belonging? Muſt the Lender *ſolicit* this Matter as an *eſpecial Favour*, and pay a large Sum of Money for the *Permiſſion* of ſpending the Intereſt of the borrowed Money on the Borrower's Eſtate?

III. ARE there not ſome late Inſtances to be given of Foreigners, where they have put their Money in our Funds for the ſake of Security, and yet have choſe to reſide out of *England*, on account of the Averſion of the *Engliſh* towards Foreigners?

IV. ARE there not many Countries in *Europe*, where Merchants and Tradeſmen are treated with much Contempt on account of their Profeſſion? Are there not ſome, where they dare not appear wealthy, or diſcover their Riches? Would it be any Detriment to this Kingdom, if ſuch Perſons were *invited* here? And ought they not to be told by the *publick Voice of the Nation*, that they ſhall be welcome, and enjoy the Benefit of a free Conſtitution?

V. Are foreign Tradeſmen, Merchants, and Mechanicks acquainted with the Nature of our Conſtitution? Do they reaſon and debate about Politicks as we do in *England?* And when they hear that a Naturalization Bill is rejected by the Repreſentatives of the *Engliſh* Nation, what can they conclude, but that Foreigners are refuſed Admittance;—or at leaſt, that they are *not protected* by the general Laws of the Kingdom, in the ſame Manner as the Natives are? Ought we not therefore to undeceive them in ſo material a Point?

SECTION XIII.

Taxes of all Kinds, particularly the Poor Tax.

I. On what are all Taxes to be raiſed, but on the Labour of the People, and the Things they conſume? And in which Country will the Taxes produce moſt? Where there are few, or many Inhabitants?

II. If a certain *Sum* muſt be raiſed for the Exigencies of the Government, and the Paying of the Intereſt of the publick Debts, and there be a Deficiency in the ſeveral Branches of Cuſtoms and Exciſes,——How is this Deficiency to be made up, but by an heavier *Land-Tax?* Whether therefore the whole

Body

Body of the *Landed Intereſt* are not concerned on *this* account, as well as all others, to promote the Increaſe of Inhabitants?

III. WHETHER the *French* Refugees did not maintain their own Poor? And were alſo aſſeſſed in many Places towards the Support of the *Engliſh* Poor?—If this is the Fact, what Grounds were there for the Clamour, That a Naturalization Bill would encreaſe the Poor Tax?

IV. WOULD it be any Diſadvantage to the Landed and Commercial Intereſts of the Kingdom, that ſo many Foreigners come over as would eaſe the *Natives* by contributing 20, or 30,000 *l.* a Year to the Relief of their Poor?

V. SUPPOSE all the Foreigners ſettled here for ſeventy Years paſt, and their Deſcendants were now expelled,—Would this be a Means of leſſening the Numbers of the *Engliſh* Poor, or reducing the Poor Tax? Would not the Burden be ſtill heavier upon the Landed Intereſt?

VI. WHETHER the beſt Way of judging of the Expediency of the Admiſſion of Foreigners, would not be by keeping an Account, by way of *Debtor* and *Creditor*, between *England* and the Foreigners who have ſettled here for ſeventy Years paſt? *Viz.*

ENGLAND

ENGLAND *Debtor* to Foreigners for Manufactures, Rents of Houſes and Lands, Conſumption of Proviſions, Increaſe of Commerce and Navigation, Payment of Taxes, Cuſtoms, and Exciſes.

ENGLAND *Creditor* to Foreigners by Sums expended on, or Charities given to ſuch Foreigners.——And on which Side would the immenſe BALANCE fall?

SECTION XIV.

*The * Birth-right of an Engliſhman.*

I. WHAT is the Birth-right of an *Engliſhman?*——Is it a Right or Privilege to be poor and miſerable, while his Neighbours are increaſing in Wealth and Commerce? Is ſuch a Birth-right worth *Twelve-pence?* Is it worth preſerving?

II. WHO

* "BUT to come to the Subject I have now undertaken, which is to examine what the Conſequences would be, upon the Suppoſition that the *Whigs* were now reſtored to their Power.—The Bill [for the Naturalization of foreign Proteſtants] now to be repealed, would then be re-enacted; and the *Birth-right* of an *Engliſhman* reduced again to the Value of *Twelve-pence.*" EXAMINER, N° XXV. *Jan.* 25. 1710.

II. WHO are the Perſons that would attempt to deprive *Engliſhmen* of their Birth-right? —Such who propoſe to make *England* rich and flouriſhing, the Center of Trade, and a Magazine for other Nations?—Or thoſe that would cramp and confine its Commerce, countenance Monopolies and Combinations, prevent the Increaſe of Inhabitants and the Conſumption of Labour, under a Pretence of preſerving the *Purity* of the *Engliſh* Blood?

III. ARE not all Attempts to deprive us of the Benefits of Labour, Attempts upon our Birth-rights? Are not all Limitations and Reſtrictions, whereby *Engliſhmen* are obliged to buy the *dearer* and ſell the *cheaper*, ſo many Invaſions on their Rights and Liberties? Who are the Perſons guilty of theſe Crimes?

IV. WAS there any Clauſe ever offered in a Naturalization Bill to deprive the Freemen of Towns Corporate of their Rights and Privileges?——And was it not always declared by the Promoters of ſuch Bills, that Freemen ſhould preſerve theſe [*ſuppoſed*] Privileges, as long as they themſelves would chuſe to keep them, and till they would petition to be releaſed from them?

SECTION

SECTION XV.

The real Intereſt of Tradeſmen.

I. WHAT are the Privileges of Freemen?——Are they real, or imaginary? Would the Inhabitants of *Birmingham*, *Mancheſter*, and *Leeds*, accept ſuch Privileges if they were offered them?

II. ARE the Tradeſmen in *Weſtminſter* the *poorer* for being *without*, or the Tradeſmen in *London* the *richer* for being *within* the Liberties of the City?

III. IF a Tradeſman ſells the *dearer* by excluding thoſe who are not *free*, doth he not *buy* the *dearer* of other Tradeſmen for the like Reaſon?——If his Intention is only to exclude Rivals, do not the Freemen of other Trades exclude their Rivals upon the ſame Motives?—And when other Tradeſmen exclude their Rivals, do they not in fact exclude ſuch as might be his Cuſtomers?

IV. Is not every Tradeſman willing to buy as *cheap*, and ſell as *much* as may be? But how can he do either where Trade is not free?

SECTION

SECTION XVI.

There muſt be Rivals in Commerce either at Home or Abroad.

I. IF there will and muſt be Rivals either at *Home* or *Abroad*,—which is the moſt detrimental to a Kingdom?—To have *Competitors* at Home? or to be *out-rivalled* Abroad?

II. WAS a Nation ever hurt by Competitions at Home?——And is not the Proverb, *Penny wiſe and Pound fooliſh*, manifeſtly verified in thoſe, who would prevent Competitions between Merchants, Tradeſmen, and Mechanicks?

III. WHAT is the Publick Good? Is it not, for the moſt Part, the Reſult of Emulation among the Members of the ſame Society? And what would become of Induſtry, Temperance, Frugality, and the Deſire of Excelling, if there were no Emulation?

IV. WHICH is beſt for the Publick,—To have *Emulations* among Tradeſmen and Manufacturers, or *Combinations?* And which of theſe hath the ſtrongeſt Tendency to heighten the Price of exportable Goods, and impoveriſh our Country?

SECTION XVII.

The Objection, "That Foreigners would take "the Bread out of the Mouths of the Na- "tives,—and carry away the Myſteries of "Trade," *conſidered and examined.*

I. WHICH Sort of *Foreigners* are moſt to be dreaded, as taking the Bread out of the Mouths of the Natives? — Thoſe *thout* the Kingdom? or thoſe *within?*

II. IF the good People of *England* could ſee through a Teleſcope thoſe Merchants and Manufacturers in the ſeveral Parts of *Europe* who out-rival them, and prevent the Sale of their Manufactures,——would they not rather ſay, ☞ *Thoſe are the People that take the Bread out of our Mouths?*——But will the Refuſal of a Naturalization Bill be a Means of curing this Evil?

III. WHO are thoſe that have carried the Myſteries of Trade out of this Kingdom?—— Foreigners? or *Engliſhmen?* And whether there are not *Engliſhmen* very lately ſettled in moſt Kingdoms in *Europe*, who teach the Natives of thoſe Countries the particular Trades in which we moſt excel?——Whether alſo there are not undeniable Proofs of their having ſolicited

ſolicited Charters to exclude Goods of the ſame Kind coming from *England*?

IV. ARE there not a Variety of Tools now making in *England*, and daily ſhipping off for the uſe of Manufacturers in Foreign Countries? And will not the *Engliſh* Maſters and Journeymen go over to teach Foreigners the Uſe of thoſe Tools, if they are invited and ſufficiently *encouraged*?

V. IF the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Pruſſia*, &c. are intent upon ſetting up any *Engliſh* Manufactures,—which would be their likelieſt Way to ſucceed?——To draw off *Engliſh* Manufacturers by Premiums and Salaries? or to be at the Expence of ſending their own Subjects, and maintaining them here a long Time to learn the Trade? Which is the moſt expeditious Method? The moſt ſecure, the cheapeſt, and that which has been moſt frequently and ſucceſsfully practiſed?

SECTION XVIII.

The permitting the Natives to go to our Colonies and Plantations,—and the Inviting of Foreigners to come in to increaſe our Numbers, ſhewn to terminate in the ſame good Policy?

I. WHETHER there is not a certain Fundamental Principle in Govern-

ment and Commerce, *That an Increaſe of Labour will be attended with an Increaſe of People?*

II. WHETHER Colonies and Plantations, *under* * *proper Regulations*, do not increaſe Labour?

III. WHETHER the Kingdom of *Spain* would have been depopulated by the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*, if all the Manufactures ſent to that Country had been worked up in *Old Spain?*

IV. AS great Multitudes of *French*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Italians*, and other Nations, are now employed in the making of Manufactures, and the ſending of Proviſions to the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*,——would not *Old Spain* be a very populous Country, if theſe People, with their Wives and Families, were tranſplanted there?

V. IF there is an Increaſe of Labour in any *free* Town, will not the People flock thither from other Parts of the Kingdom, in Proportion to that Increaſe? And whether the like would

* THE Regulations here referred to may be ſeen in the VIIIth Propoſal of the *Brief Eſſay on Trade*, 2d Edit. Page 92. printed for *T. Trye*, *Holborn*. And I ſuppoſe Sir *Joſiah Child* muſt have had ſome ſuch Regulations in his Thoughts, when he pronounced it to be a VULGAR ERROR to ſay, That Colonies do leſſen the Number of People in the Mother Country.

would not hold good with reſpect to the whole Kingdom, if Foreigners were admitted?

VI. IF Foreigners were not admitted, whether the above mentioned Increaſe of Labour will not *forſake* that City, Country, or Kingdom, and fix in another where Work is *cheapeſt* done? Whether any Statutes, Reſtraints, or Prohibitions, can prevent this Conſequence? ——And whether the *Spaniards*, who have experienced this Truth to their Coſt, are not now ſetting about to amend their Error by an Admiſſion of Foreigners? Yet do not the *Engliſh* ſeem inclined to run into the ſame Error more and more?

VII. WHETHER it is not prudent to keep open *two Doors* in a State, one for ſuch Perſons to *go out* to our Colonies, as may have their Reaſons for ſuch Departure, and the other to *admit* thoſe Perſons in, as are inclined to live among us?

VIII. IF any among ourſelves have been imprudent or unfortunate, and would willingly retire to a Place where their paſt Conduct was not known;—or if any are moved by Ambition to ſeek their Fortunes in foreign Countries, is it not the beſt Policy to *open a Way* for ſuch Adventurers to go to *our own* Colonies and Plantations, rather than to let them retire to other Countries, and probably to our Rivals?

SECTION

SECTION XIX.

If a Naturalization Bill was to paſs, Whether Beggars would be the likelieſt to come over?

I. DO Beggars want the Inducement of a Naturalization Bill?——If a thouſand foreign Beggars were now to come over, have the * Juſtices of the Peace, the Mayors, or other Civil Magiſtrates, any *legal* Authority of ordering them out of the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, or of levying a Tax, or applying any Publick Money for that Purpoſe? If they have not, what Encouragement would a Naturalization Bill give to Beggars more than they have already?

II. ARE the Lazy and Indolent the likelieſt to leave their native Country? Do even ſuch among the *Scotch*, *Welſh*, (tho' upon the ſame Continent) or *Iriſh*, as are Beggars *by Profeſſion*, take the Pains to come into *England* to ſet up *that Trade?* If any of the Natives of thoſe Countries are found begging in *England*, are they not, for the moſt part, induſtrious People who came for work, but were taken ſick, or reduced by unavoidable Misfortunes?

III. WHAT

* THE Juſtices of the Peace have a Power of *paſſing*, that is of ſending away *Iriſh* Beggars into *Ireland*, but no Foreigners as I am informed.

III. WHAT could a lazy and indolent Foreigner propoſe to himſelf by coming into *England*, where he doth not underſtand ſo much as the Language of the Country? Or how would ſuch a Perſon defray the Expence of a Paſſage hither?

IV. IF any *Engliſhman* propoſes to puſh his Fortune in a foreign Country, doth he intend to live by Lazineſs and Idleneſs? And can a foreign Merchant or Mechanick here in *England* hope to thrive by any other Means, than by an Application and Induſtry *equal* at leaſt, if not *ſuperior* to that of the Natives?

V. Is that Objection, "That we ſhall ſwarm "with foreign Beggars," conſiſtent with the other, "That Foreigners will come over to "underwork the Natives, and take the Bread "out of their Mouths?"

SECTION XX.

If a Naturalization Bill ſhould paſs, Whether the Vicious and Abandoned would be the likelieſt to come over.

I. WHAT Reſtraints are put upon the Vicious and Abandoned from coming over now?—Do not all the Rakes in *Europe* know by the Example and Converſation of the *Engliſh* that travel Abroad, that *England*

land is a Country where People may be as wicked as they pleaſe? And what is it to a Rake, a Proſtitute, or Sharper, whether they are naturalized or not? Are not they, for the moſt part, *Citizens of the World?*

II. When foreign Merchants and Tradeſmen are obliged to leave their Country on Motives of Conſcience and Religion, are they ſo likely to increaſe our Luxuries, and debauch our Morals, as foreign Cooks, Singers, Dancers, and Fidlers, whoſe very Livelihood depends upon adding Incentives to our Follies, and feeding our Vices?

III. If our Rivals had it in their Choice to ſend either a Colony of Merchants and Manufacturers,——or of Singers and Fidlers into each Trading Town in *England*,——Which of the two would they be the likelieſt to ſend? And which do we ſeem *moſt diſpoſed to receive?*

IV. Whether the Manufacturing Poor in any Country are ſo debauched and immoral as in *England?* Is there not therefore a greater Danger, that the *Engliſh* ſhould corrupt the Foreigners, than be corrupted by them?

V. Is not *Holland* open to all the World? And are the People obſerved to be more debauched upon that Account?——Or was it found by Experience, that we in this Nation were

were corrupted in our Morals by the Reception of the *Flemiſh* and *French* Refugees?

SECTION XXI.

The moſt efficacious, as well as the gentleſt Methods of reforming a People's Morals.

I. IS the Naturalization of Foreign Proteſtants inconſiſtent with any good Scheme that can be deviſed for the Reformation of Morals? And indeed, will not both Schemes co-operate beſt together? That is, Will not good Examples be the beſt Recommendation and Enforcement of good Laws?

II. Is not Emulation a ſtrong Principle in human Nature?——And particularly* ſo in the

* THE ingenious *Abbe du Bos*, in his *Critical Reflections on Poetry and Painting*, Vol. II. Chap. xv. Page 196. makes a very pertinent and uſeful Obſervation on this Head.

"THE preſent *Engliſh*, ſays he, are not deſcended, "generally ſpeaking, from the *Britons* who inhabited "that Iſland when the *Romans* ſubdued it. Nevertheleſs, the Strokes with which *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* cha"racteriſe the *Britons*, are extremely well ſuited to the "*Engliſh*; for the one were not more ſubject to Jea"louſy [the Impatience of being outrivalled] than the "other. *Tacitus* obſerves, that *Agricola* found no bet"ter Method of engaging the ancient *Britons* to make

the Inhabitants of this Iſland in regard to Foreigners? Might it not therefore be made very inſtrumental in promoting the Reformation of the Natives?

III. HATH not the Method of Whipping, ſending to Bridewel, to the Plantations, and even Hanging, been long enough practiſed? —yet theſe

"their Children learn Latin, as well as Rhetorick, and "the other polite Arts in uſe among the *Romans*, than "to excite their *Emulation*, by making them aſhamed "to ſee themſelves excelled by the *Gauls*. The Spirit "of the *Britons*, ſaid *Agricola*, is of a better Frame "than that of the *Gauls*; and if they have a mind to "take Pains, it depends entirely on themſelves to ſur-"paſs their Neighbours. *Agricola*'s Artifice had its de-"ſired Effect; and the *Britons*, who before ſcorned to "ſpeak Latin, grew even deſirous of acquiring the Beau-"ties of the *Roman* Eloquence. Let the *Engliſh* them-"ſelves judge, whether the Artifice uſed by *Agricola* "might not be employed among them at preſent with "the like Succeſs."

THE Reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed at the mentioning another Example of the like Nature, though of an *inferior* Kind, as it is ſo recent and applicable to the preſent Subject. The chief Gardiner of a late noble Lord employed a great Number of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Labourers in making new Gardens; but could not get them to perform their Work with any tolerable Degree of Induſtry and Care, 'till he hit upon the happy Expedient of ſeparating the two Nations, and exciting their Emulation againſt each other. This had all the Succeſs he could deſire: And they did more Work, and in a better Manner, when they were told, it was *for the Honour of England*,—and *for the Honour of Ireland*, than for any other Conſiderations he could urge.

theſe Severities have had no good Influence on the Morals of the People. Is it not therefore requiſite that ſome other Expedient ſhould be tried? And if it has been made evident, that a Naturalization Bill would be an Inducement *only* to ſober and induſtrious Foreigners to come over, may not a Spirit of Emulation incite the *Engliſh* to rival them in the like virtuous Practices?

IV. SUPPOSE a Set of Journeymen and Manufacturers entered into a Combination to work only three Days in a Week, and to have an exorbitant Price for that Time,——What Arguments are to be uſed, or Methods taken, to break this deſtructive Confederacy? Will the Terror of the Civil Magiſtrate in ſuch a Conſtitution as ours be ſo effectual as the Force of Emulation? Will the Sot or the Debauchee be ſo ſoon reclaimed by any Severity, as by ſeeing Foreigners employed in caſe he refuſes to work? And is not the raiſing of Emulation a much more humane and gentle Method, more agreeable to the Genius of a free People, and in all Reſpects moſt conducive to the Publick Good?

SECTION XXII.

A Regard to the Conſtitution both in Church and State.

I. IN what Reſpect would the Introduction of Foreign Proteſtants endanger the Eſtabliſhment of our excellent CHURCH?—— What was the Opinion of our Reformers?

II. HAVE the Churches Abroad ever expreſſed an Averſion to Epiſcopacy,—to the Uſe of Liturgies,—to our Articles and Homilies,—or to any Part of our Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution? And have not they often conſidered the Church of *England* as the Pillar and Glory of the Reformation?

III. ARE not the *Engliſh* noted throughout *Europe* at this Day for broaching Heterodox Syſtems and Latitudinarian Opinions? And is there any Country, where the grand and fundamental Articles both of Natural and Revealed Religion are attacked in ſo outrageous a Manner as they are in *England?* Is there therefore any Danger that we ſhould be corrupted in our Principles by the Introduction of Foreigners?

IV. ARE

IV. ARE not the principal Clergy in Foreign Countries, both *Calviniſts* and *Lutherans*, Members of our *Society for propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts*, according to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*? If therefore any of their Flocks were to remove and ſettle here,——would they adviſe them, when they came to *England*, to ſeparate from the eſtabliſhed Church?

V. DID* the Foreign Proteſtants, who fled hither from Popiſh Perſecutions, behave indecently

* HAVING been lately favoured with two Extracts from the Letters of Biſhop *Compton* to Biſhop *Fell*, I am perſuaded that I cannot do a more acceptable Thing than to preſent them to the Reader, as they contain the Sentiments of one Father of our Church to another, in their *friendly* and *private* Correſpondence; and as both theſe eminent Prelates were diſtinguiſhed for their Zeal and Affection to the Church of *England*. There is no Date of the Year in either Letter.

OCTOBER 18. "It muſt be confeſſed, that many "of the meaner Sort [of the Refugees] have not dealt ſo "well with us as they ought to have done. But then "you muſt conſider, how far the HOTSPURS of our "Church have *always provoked* them; and that the "more diſcreet and underſtanding of them were *never-"theleſs* generally for us."

JANUARY 21. "The Abſtract you ſent me [relat-"ing to the Refugees] is exceeding good, and I believe "we ſhall ſend it into all the Dioceſes: For the PA-"PISTS have been ſo very *careful* to raiſe an *evil Re-"port* againſt theſe poor Men, that it has done great "Miſchief."

cently or diſreſpectfully towards the *Engliſh* Clergy? Are not their Deſcendants at this Day as well affected towards them as any Perſons whatever? And is it at all probable, if Numbers were now to come over, that they would give any Cauſe of Complaint againſt them?

I. In what reſpect would the Introduction of Foreign Proteſtants endanger the Conſtitution of the State? What were the Sentiments of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Patriots and ableſt Politicians on this Matter?

II. Are Foreign Proteſtants averſe to Liberty, and in love with Slavery? Are they diſaffected to the preſent Royal Family, and in the Intereſt of the Pretender?

III. What Plots, Conſpiracies, or Treaſons, were the Foreign Proteſtants, who have ſettled here, detected in? What Books or Treatiſes have they wrote or countenanced, which tended to the Subverſion of the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, or the juſt Prerogative of the Crown?

IV. Will the *Engliſh* Conſtitution be weakened by a Naturalization Bill, at the ſame Time that *all others* are ſtrengthened by it? —Will it be right in the *French* Government to entice the *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh* Catholicks

licks to ſettle in *France*, and be wrong in the *Engliſh* to invite the perſecuted Proteſtants to come to *England*? Is not every Manufacturer, drawn from a *rival* Country a *double Loſs* to that Country?

SECTION XXIII.

The Dictates of Humanity, and the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion.

I. WHETHER the denying Refuge and Protection to the Perſecuted and Diſtreſſed, is in itſelf an humane and benevolent Proceedure? Whether it is ſuch as we would chuſe to be done to ourſelves in the like Circumſtances?

II. WHEN a Fellow Proteſtant is perſecuted in one City, and flees to another, in Obedience to his Saviour's Commands,—Whether it is conſiſtent with the Religion we profeſs, as *Chriſtians* and as *Proteſtants*, to ſhut the Gates of the City againſt him, and hinder him to come in? And whether the Foreign Proteſtants acted in that *inhoſpitable* Manner to the *Engliſh* Refugees, when they fled from the Perſecutions of the bloody Queen *Mary*?

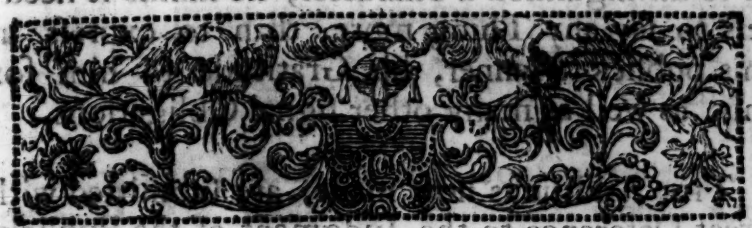
III. WHETHER if theſe Kingdoms, for the Puniſhment of our Sins, ſhould fall again under the Power of a *Popiſh* perſecuting Bigot, we

we ſhould not eſteem it extremely inhuman and unchriſtian to be denied a Protection and Aſylum in ſome neighbouring Proteſtant Country?

IV. WHETHER every Miſcarriage of the Naturalization Bill in *England* is not induſtriouſly made uſe of by the Prieſts in *France*, as an Argument to perſwade the Proteſtants to turn Papiſts? And whether they have not from this Circumſtance, a very plauſible Pretence for ſaying, That the *Engliſh* refuſe to receive the Foreign Proteſtants in Diſtreſs, when the *Roman* Catholicks give all poſſible Aſſiſtance to the Members of their Communion? Whether therefore, when *our Practice is compared with theirs*, the *Popiſh* Religion doth not appear in a more advantageous Light, to our great Scandal and Reproach?

V. WHETHER the Government and Clergy of *France* have not their Hands ſtrengthened to perſecute the Proteſtants by our denying them Admiſſion? And whether the Perſecutions did not actually ſlacken in *France*, when our Naturalization Bill was depending, and revive again after it was defeated?——Whether therefore we ourſelves do not become in ſome Senſe the Accomplices of Popiſh Perſecutors, in direct Oppoſition to the diſtinguiſhing Principles of the Goſpel, and the Intereſt, the Strength, and Honour of our Church and Nation?

APPEN-



* THE

APPENDIX,

VIZ.

A CALM ADDRESS *to all Parties in Religion, concerning Diſaffection to the preſent Government.*

A New Edition, Corrected and Enlarged.

THE Reader will eaſily perceive, that a Part of this Piece was publiſhed during the late Rebellion, when there was an Embarkation of Forces at *Dunkirk*, deſigned for the Invaſion of this Kingdom. The Author imputes the favourable Reception it met with at that Time, to the Improvements it received from the Honourable Mr Juſtice *Foſter*, who was pleaſed to reviſe it before its Publication. After mentioning a Gentleman

* See the Reaſons in Pages 49, 50, 53, and 69, of Part I. for annexing this Piece to the Subject of naturalizing Foreign Proteſtants.

of ſo diſtinguiſhed a Character, he thinks it needleſs to ſay any Thing more, than to expreſs in this publick Manner, his Gratitude to him for this, as well as many other ſignal Obligations.

THE Additions now made, are ſubmitted with great Deference to the Judgment of the Publick. And if what is advanced on this Subject may contribute to remove any ill-founded Prejudice againſt our preſent happy Conſtitution, the Author will think his Pains amply recompenſed: But if the Abettors of a contrary Opinion ſhould be irritated againſt him for his Sentiments (delivered in an inoffenſive Manner) and repeat their ill Uſage to him, he hopes they will conſider, that there can be no greater Proof of a *bad Cauſe*, than the Neceſſity of ſupporting it by *baſe* and *diſingenuous* Methods.

IT is not to be doubted, but the Friends and Partizans of the *Chevalier* would make the World believe, that it would be greatly for the Welfare of this Nation if he ſhould prevail; that his Reign, and the Reſtoration of his Family, would take away the Cauſe of Party Factions and Diviſions; that the Liberties and Properties of the Subject would be ſecured upon as *good*, or rather *better* Foundation, than they are at preſent; that Trade would encreaſe and flouriſh; the People be eaſed of a great Part of their Taxes; and laſtly, that he himſelf is a good, ſincere, and honeſt Man, and will give clear Proofs of it during the Courſe of his future Government.

LET

LET us grant (for Argument Sake) the Sincerity of his Heart, and the Uprightneſs of his Intentions, to be as great as the moſt ſanguine of his Adherents can conceive them to be. And let us conſider what *Political* Conſequences, with reſpect to Us, thoſe very Principles would naturally produce, were he to ſucceed in his Attempts on theſe Kingdoms.

I. THEN, his Claim to theſe Kingdoms muſt be grounded on the Doctrine of an *indefeaſible hereditary Right*. —— He can have no other Pretence but this; for the preſent Reigning Family have the *Parliamentary Right* on their Side, being called to the Crown by an open and unconſtrained Election. His Plea therefore muſt be, and is in fact, that he is come to aſſert his *Property*, which has been ſo long detained from him.

Now if the Crown is a Matter of *Property*, and not an Office in *Truſt*; if it is *unalieniable*, and not to be *transferred* by the People, *in any Caſe*, for the Security of their *Liberties*, and the *General Good*, this unalieniable and hereditary Property is likewiſe, for the very ſame Reaſon, not to be *diminiſhed* or *infringed*. Conſequently, all Statutes made to *reſtrain* or *abridge* the *Prerogative*, are void and null of courſe, being nothing better than ſo many popular *Encroachments* and *Uſurpations*. For the *Subject* is BORN the *Property* of his *Prince*, and therefore, *can have no Right* to inſiſt upon Terms and Conditions from him. In ſhort, his only Remedy is to ſubmit with Patience to the *Will* and *Command* of *his Proprietor*.

THUS *unlimited* paſſive Obedience, and *Non-Reſiſtance*, are *inſeparably* connected with the Claim of an *indefeaſible* hereditary Right. And if a Prince ſets up the one himſelf, he may very reaſonably require the other to be practiſed by his Subjects.

II. IF ever the *Chevalier* ſucceeds to the Crown, he can do no leſs, conſiſtently with the Principles of *Juſtice* and *Gratitude*, than *reſtore* to his *Benefactor*, the King of *Spain*, the important Fortreſſes and Ports of *Gibraltar* and *Mahone*. — This would be no *extravagant* or *unreaſonable* Demand in the latter to make, but would be a Thing highly *injurious* and *ungrateful* in the former to refuſe; becauſe theſe Places were conquered *by* thoſe whom the *Pretender* muſt ſtile *Uſurpers*, and *from* thoſe who have ever been aſſiſting him in his greateſt Exigencies: And upon his coming to the Throne, he can lay no Claim to theſe Places, either by *Treaty*, *Ceſſion*, or *Conqueſt*; — conſequently, can have no Appearance of Right, *of any Sort*, to detain them. Thus all the Trade to the *Mediterranean* would in a great Meaſure depend on the mere Will and Pleaſure of the Court of *Spain*; and the *Britiſh* Nation would not have it in her Power to rule in thoſe Seas as ſhe doth at preſent, but muſt ſubmit to loſe all that Influence, and the Benefit of her Maritime Strength, for want of Ports and Harbours for the *wintering* and *refitting* of the Ships, and Security of the Fleet.

III. THE ſame Reaſoning holds with reſpect to the delivering up of *Cape Breton* to the *French*: Both Juſtice and Gratitude demand it of him.

But

But as the Caſe ſtands at preſent, if we prove ſucceſsful in the War, we ſhall certainly keep *it; and by that Means open to ourſelves a Trade more beneficial than all the Mines of *Peru*: But ſhould we prove ever ſo unfortunate, we ſhall ſtill be able to obtain ſomething valuable in Lieu of it, and ſo procure a Peace upon more advantageous Terms than could otherwiſe be obtained. Add to this, that it is much to be queſtioned, whether *France*, in the Plenitude of her Power, would practiſe ſuch *unuſual* Moderation, as to be content with the re-delivering up of *Cape Breton*, as an Equivalent for all the Expences ſhe hath been at in placing the Pretender on the Throne; when it will be entirely at her Option to make her own Terms, and to inſiſt upon the moſt valuable Poſſeſſions we have, either in *America* or †elſewhere, in order to prevent it from ever being in the Power of the *Britiſh* Nation to oppoſe her again.

IV. The Duty on *French* Wines, *&c.* muſt be conſiderably lowered, ſo as to be upon a Par with the Duties on the like Commodities of other Nations.

* The ſurrendering up of this Fortreſs is now amply compenſated by the ſettling of *Nova Scotia*; and it is alſo to be obſerved, that the Ceſſion of it was one of the principal Inducements with the King of *France* to conclude ſo diſadvantageous a Peace, by reſtoring all *Flanders*; from whence this Nation can be invaded with every *Eaſterly* Wind, as it would both bring the Invaders over, and *lock* up our own Fleet in Port.

† It is well known, that the *French* have looked upon *Ireland* for a long Time paſt with wiſtful Eyes, as this fertile Country would ſupply them with Wool for their Manufactures at Home, and Proviſions for their Colonies Abroad; and as its Ports would be a Means of augmenting and protecting their Trade, and ſtrike a Terror in the whole *Engliſh* Nation, when made the *Rendezvous* of a *French* Fleet.

tions. For it would be very ſtrange, and an ill Requital of Favour and Protection, if the *Chevalier*, when King, ſhould put the Subjects of *that* Crown, who reſtored him to *his*, upon a *worſe* Footing than the reſt of *Europe* within his Dominions. The Produce of *France*, when imported here, pays heavier Duties at preſent than that of other Nations; and her Wines are charged about two thirds more than thoſe of *Portugal*, which was wiſely done in Conſequence of an expreſs Treaty with the King of *Portugal*, for the Grant of a favourable Admiſſion of our Woollen Manufactures, and other Commodities, into his Dominions. Can we imagine then that *France* would not embrace ſuch an Opportunity as here ſuppoſed, to get theſe exceſſive and diſcouraging Duties repealed? And doth not the Thing itſelf look very plauſible, carrying a Face of Equity that it ſhould be ſo? In ſhort, the *Chevalier* and his Friends, cannot, in point of Decency, Honour, or Gratitude, refuſe to concur in ſuch a Repeal; or if they would, they dare not.

WHAT then would be the Conſequence with reſpect to us?—FRENCH Goods, of various Sorts, would be imported, as we are ſo fond of their Faſhions, and their People work ſo much cheaper than ours, to the utter Ruin of our own Manufactures: *French* Wines would be almoſt univerſally drank inſtead of *Port*, whereby that moſt valuable Part of *all* our Commerce, the Trade to *Portugal*, would be entirely loſt, and very probably paſs from our Hands into thoſe of the *French*. Thus there would enſue a general Stagnation of Trade and Manufactures; and our preſent ready Specie would daily diminiſh, by being carried away

way into *France*, without any Proſpect of its Return, or of receiving freſh Supplies from other Countries.

V. SEEING ſuch a Reign as here ſuppoſed muſt unavoidably be productive of *inſupportable* Grievances, and Matters of *juſt Complaint*, the Number of *Malecontents* and *diſſatisfied* Perſons would be much greater, and their Clamours *more violent* than ever. And as the preſent Reigning Family would be looked upon, at that ſuppoſed Juncture, as the Pretenders and Rivals to the Throne, the *Diſcontented and Diſaffected* would be ſo much the more *formidable*. Therefore a *very numerous* Army would become *neceſſary* to keep in Awe a *free People*, unaccuſtomed to bear the Yoke of *Oppreſſion*;—or a *new* Revolution would ſoon enſue. Hence Taxes, inſtead of being *diminiſhed*, would inevitably be *multiplied*, as the Government would have the ſame Load of National Debt it hath at preſent, or muſt have Recourſe to a *Spunge* to wipe it off: For in ſuch Circumſtances there could be no other Method of paying it. And if this ſhould be thought the beſt Expedient,* then the whole *Publick Credit* muſt ſink of courſe; *Widows*, and *Orphans*,

* By the Tenor of the *Chevalier*'s Manifeſto, publiſhed during the Rebellion, it ſhould ſeem, that he preferred the Expedient of *Annihilating* the Publick Debts to that of *Paying* them. For he is pleaſed to inveigh againſt them as contracted to *keep out* his Family, which is by no Means true of the greater Part of them. For they were really contracted to withſtand the exorbitant Power of *France*; which is a Duty ſo incumbent on *every Britiſh* King, that the *Stuart* Family themſelves *ought* to have done the very ſame Thing, if they had continued on the Throne. He then goes on, ſaying, "He would leave the "Matter to a free Parliament, whether theſe Debts ſhould be "paid or not:" That is, in plain *Engliſh*, The firſt Parliament he called after his Victories, compoſed only of his own Friends and Followers, and the Soldiers of Fortune (for at ſuch a Juncture

Orphans, and thouſands of Perſons of good Faſhion, be reduced to the moſt indigent and abject State; and many Publick *Charitable Foundations* of Schools, Hoſpitals, Infirmaries, &c. be obliged to be ſhut up. But if the ſame Debts are ſuppoſed to remain, then the prodigious Expences of the Service, joined to the Intereſt payable to the *Publick Creditors*, would put the Government under a Neceſſity of laying on many *new* and *heavy* Taxes, when the Trade or Money circulating in the Nation would bear no Proportion to anſwer them.

VI. AFTER theſe Things impartially conſidered, we may clearly obſerve, that the continual Aſſiſtance of *France* would become ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that it would be impoſſible to ſupport ſuch a *tottering* Crown without it. And therefore it would be the Intereſt of the *Chevalier*, to ſee *Flanders* always in the Hands of *France*, as he could receive Aſſiſtance, with great Eaſe, from his *potent* Ally, by Means of the *Flemiſh* Ports, to quell any Attempts of the Friends of Liberty to recover their Freedom: And it would be the Intereſt of *France* to foment all our domeſtick Diviſions, at leaſt not to take away the Cauſe of them, in order to keep the Crown of *Great Britain* ſtill dependant.—So that in fact, the *Chevalier* would be little better than a Vice-Roy, or Lord Lieutenant, under the Grand Monarch; and the *Britiſh* Subjects would actually be in a *much worſe* State, than if they were under an *immediate French* Government.

VII. THERE

ture none others could dare to appear) would then determine, whether they ſhould pay the publick Creditors, or ſhare the Spoils among themſelves.—And it is eaſy to reſolve which they would chuſe to do.

VII. THERE can be nothing which the Favourers of this Gentleman have to reply to theſe Obſervations, but this, that when he is once ſettled upon the Throne, he will then conſult the Intereſts of the *Britiſh* Nation only, and diſappoint the Expectations of the Courts of *France* or *Spain*.—I have ſhewn, that he cannot do this, conſiſtently with Gratitude, Honour, or Juſtice. But if, notwithſtanding, it is ſtill inſiſted, that he will,—I aſk, What Security can we have, that ſuch a Prince will be more *conſcientious* in performing his Engagements to *Us*, over whom he will conſider that he hath an *indefeaſible Property*, than to *others*, over whom he hath no ſuch Claims, and to whom he hath been ſo much obliged, and ſo deeply engaged?

BESIDES, it will not be in his Power to act in this Reſpect as he pleaſes. — *France*, enlarged by Conqueſt, having her Frontiers ſecured by the *Rhine*, her Commerce encreaſed and raiſed upon the Deſtruction of ours, and in Poſſeſſion of all the Ports of *Flanders*, which are within a *few Hours* ſail of our own Coaſts, could eaſily compel the diſtracted and divided People of *Great Britain*, ſunk in Trade, deſtitute of Credit, and without Finances or Allies, to ſubmit to her own Terms. And it is evidently no more the Deſign of that Crown to raiſe the Power of the *Pretender* to a State of *Independence*, capable of turning his Arms againſt her, than it is to favour the Intereſts of the preſent Royal Family. For whenever ſhe aſſiſts, ſhe doth it with no other View, than of making *Tools* of the Party aſſiſted, by eſpouſing their Intereſts in *ſuch a Manner* as ſhall make them *ſubſervient*

ſervient to her own; which, in the Nature of Things, muſt be contrary to the Intereſt of *Great Britain.*

WHAT then can be expected from the Succeſs of the Pretender?—Nothing certainly in point of *National* Advantage: So that there can be urged no Motives of *that Sort* to induce any one to embark in the Undertaking, or even to countenance a Spirit of *Diſaffection.*

VIII. LET us therefore examine in the next Place, how the Matter ſtands, and on which Side the Argument would conclude in point of DUTY.

1. IT is an undoubted Maxim, founded in the Reaſon of Things, that Protection and Allegiance are *reciprocal.* As therefore we have received the one, we ought the more chearfully to pay the other, and be vigorous in the Support of a Government, which hath ſo long protected us in the Enjoyment of all our Rights, Civil and Religious; —and that in a greater Degree than ever was known before.

2. BOTH Prince and People have entered into *mutual Stipulations*, and the moſt *ſolemn* Engagements to aſſiſt and defend each other; which therefore, neither Party have a Right to break through at Pleaſure: Now let any one look over the *Declaration of Rights and Liberties* made by the Lords and Commons in the very Year of the Revolution, *viz.* 1688, and ſay, whether he thinks in his Conſcience, that the People are debarred of the full Poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of any one of them. And if they are not, how can any Man of Honour or common Honeſty be free from his Engagements?—More eſpecially a CHRISTIAN, after having, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, called GOD to *witneſs* to the *Sincerity* of his Profeſſions of Loyalty and Obedience?

3. SHOULD any one be ſo *weak*, or *ignorant* of our free Conſtitution, as to *doubt* of the Title of the preſent Royal Family (which in every View hath a much better *Original*, and *Plea* of *Right*, than any other Family ſince the Time of the *Saxons*, who by the *baſeſt* Treachery *uſurped* the Government from their Maſters:) Nay even ſuppoſing there was a *real Defect*,*—Why, St *Paul* hath decided in ſuch a Caſe, that an *eſtabliſhed* Conſtitution, which anſwers the general Ends of Government, is not to be reſiſted, becauſe the Title happens to be *controverted*: A defective Title being the very Pretence of the *Jews*, and *Judaizing Chriſtians*, for their Reluctance to obey the *Roman* Government, *viz.* Becauſe, in their Opinion, it was not *ordained* of GOD. And yet the Apoſtle would by no Means admit of this Plea, but lays it down as a general Rule, that every *ſettled* Government [*The Powers* THAT BE] exerciſing that Office for the Good of the People, is *ſo far* ordained of GOD, as to have a *ſufficient*, and therefore in that Senſe a *Divine Right*, to the Loyalty of the Subject; which Service he cannot refuſe without committing a very *heinous* Sin.

* See my IId Diſſertation againſt Mr *Chubb*, viz. on *Rom.* xiii. Printed for *T. Trye*, *Holborn*.

4. THIS Declaration of the Apoſtle, concerning Obedience to the Powers in *Poſſeſſion*, is incorporated into, and made an *eſſential* Part of our Conſtitution both in CHURCH and STATE.

As to the CHURCH, the ſame Doctrine is contained in the *Homilies*, where King *John*, though a moſt notorious Uſurper, is ſtiled, Our *natural* Lord and Sovereign; and it is obſervable, that before the Civil Wars, there is not one Inſtance that the contrary Poſition was ever held. Nay farther, the very Convocation expreſly called together by the *firſt* King of the *Stuart* Line reigning in *England*, to deliberate on ſuch Points, gave their Judgments as follows; "If any Man ſhall "affirm,—That when any *new* Forms of Go"vernment, *begun by* REBELLION, are after tho"roughly ſettled, the Authority in them is not "of GOD; or that any who live within the Ter"ritories of ſuch *new* Governments, are not "bound to be ſubject to GOD's Authority, which "is there executed,—he doth *greatly err*."*

AND

* Biſhop *Overall*'s Convocation Book, CANON XXIII. Page 59. *N. B.* This Quotation is brought with no other View, but to ſet forth the Senſe of the Clergy of the Church of *England* at that Juncture, concerning *controverted* or *defective* Titles in the reigning Powers,—defective I mean, with regard to Claims *before* Poſſeſſion, or the Pretenſions of a *Rival*; for *after* Poſſeſſion, the *Subject* is precluded, according to the Senſe of this Canon, from making any Objections againſt the Lawfulneſs of obeying ſuch a Government, or giving Countenance to the Pretenſions of a Rival, that would diſturb it when once quietly eſtabliſhed.

AND with reſpect to the STATE,* It hath been the conſtant and invariable Maxim of the *Common Law* of *England* to aſcribe the ſame Powers and Prerogatives, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, and Military, to a King *de Facto*, as to a King *de Jure*. And to prevent any Poſſibility of Doubt on this Head, the Legiſlature itſelf paſſed an Act, the 11th of *Henry* VII. expreſly limiting the Obedience of the Subject to the *King for the Time being*. After this, it might appear ſuperfluous to recite the Authority of the Courts of Judicature, in which the Statutes of both Sorts of Kings are always allowed to carry equal Force and Obligation;—or the Opinions of the moſt eminent Lawyers, who are conſequently the beſt Judges of the *Engliſh* LEGAL Conſtitution, and yet never made any Scruple to aſſert, that the Loyalty of the Subject was limited to the *King in Poſſeſſion*.

IX. BUT even allowing that all theſe Arguments are *inconcluſive*, and that nothing can make Amends for the Want of a *regular* Succeſſion of the next of Kin;—the grand Queſtion therefore is, Who hath the beſt Pretenſions to the Crown by Virtue of this Succeſſion? †The *Stuart* Family can have no Right; for their Claim muſt deſcend from King *John*, who was not only a groſs *Uſurper*, but

* THOSE who wiſh to have a clearer and more perfect View of all theſe Points, would do well to conſult that excellent Book of Dr *Higden* on the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, with the Defences annexed to it.

† SEE this proved at large in *Ballantyne*'s Hereditary Right of King *George* II. aſſerted: Sold by *M. Cooper* in *Pater-Noſter Row*.

but a *Murderer* of his King: And his Children being alſo *illegitimate*, the whole hereditary Right muſt have paſſed from him to his Siſter *Maud*, the Daughter and only ſurviving Iſſue of *Henry* II. (in whom, *N. B.* the *Norman* and *Saxon* Lines were *united.*) And from this Princeſs, married to the Duke of *Bavaria*, His preſent Majeſty, King *George* II. is LINEALLY deſcended. So that tho' the Plea of an *indefeaſible* hereditary Right is certainly a very weak one, and ſuch as every Friend to our preſent happy Conſtitution would heartily diſclaim, yet it may have its Uſe merely as an *Argumentum ad Hominem*, and ſerve to confute the Defenders of a wild, extravagant Opinion, upon their own Principles.

X. LASTLY, The Faults of the Adminiſtration, the Number of our Taxes, and the vaſt Load of the National Debt, are made ſtanding Subjects of Complaint.

AS to *Faults* and *Miſcarriages*, there is no Doubt to be made, but every *human* Inſtitution is ſubject to them; and with reſpect to our own, its beſt Friends will the more readily acknowledge it, as they are the moſt zealous in their Endeavours to rectify what may ſeem amiſs, and to render our Conſtitution ſtill more complete and perfect. For it is one Thing to aim at the Improvement and Perfection of the Government under which we live, and another to plot its Ruin, and ſide with its Enemies. Moreover, it is an indiſputable Fact, that many Things have been made Matters of great Complaint, which really deſerved

deſerved Commendation; and that ſome of the moſt violent Clamours againſt Male Adminiſtration have had no other Grounds, than either a Spirit of *Diſaffection*, or the Views of Ambition.

As to the National Debts, the real Fact ſtands thus:

The *firſt* Article upon the Liſt was a Debt contracted in the Time of King *Charles* II. when he ſhut up the Exchequer, and rewarded that Gentleman (Mr *Clifford*) with a Peerage, and raiſed him to the Office of Lord High Treaſurer, who projected this infamous Scheme of robbing the Publick Creditors.

The *ſecond* Cauſe of neceſſary Expence was the *Revolution*; concerning which it may be ſufficient to ſay, that either the Nation muſt have taken thoſe Meaſures, or have ſubmitted to the Loſs of all its Liberties, Civil and Religious, and been contented to wear the Chains of *arbitrary* Power, riveted by Popiſh *Bigottry* and *Perſecution*.

The *third* was the *Reduction of Ireland*, then in the Hands of an Army of *French* and *Iriſh* Papiſts, with King *James* at the Head of them, exerciſing all Manner of Cruelties on the poor Proteſtants of that Country, and ready to invade *England* at the firſt Opportunity.

The *fourth*, and greateſt of all, was occaſioned by the long Wars with *France*; When the real Queſtion was, Whether the Nation would prefer being

being a *free People*, or ſubmit to become a *Province* to the *French* Monarchy?

THE *fifth* was owing to the Intrigues and Cabals of the *diſaffected* Party at Home, who endeavoured to ſubvert the Government by deſtroying its Credit;—in which wicked Arts they ſo far ſucceeded, as to cauſe the Premiums, Diſcounts, and Intereſt of Money lent to the Publick, to be raiſed to a moſt exorbitant Height, and then made theſe Evils the *Foundation* of *new* Clamours; thus going on in a Circle of *Complaining*, and creating *more Cauſes* of Complaint.

THE *ſixth* was the unwearied Attempts of the ſame Party by continual Plots and Intrigues, by repeated Inſurrections and Rebellions, which have occaſioned the neceſſary Expence of conſtant Precautions.—And therefore, when all theſe Things are taken into the Account, let it be ſubmitted to the Judgment of the impartial World, who hath moſt Reaſon to complain of the Load of our National Debts, and to whoſe Conduct and Behaviour it is chiefly to be imputed.

MOREOVER, as to the Number of TAXES, that Part of them which is neceſſary for the Payment of Intereſt in the Funds, ought in Truth and Juſtice to be *ſo far* imputed to the *diſaffected* Party, as they have been the Occaſion of the preſent Largeneſs of our publick Debts. *And as to the remaining

* SEE this, and the following Article, clearly demonſtrated in a Pamphlet called *The By-ſtander*, which contains many other very ſolid and judicious Reflections. *London*, printed for *J. Robinſon*, at the *Golden Lion* in *Ludgate Street*.

remaining Taxes, one Portion of them is now ſo abſolutely *appropriated* to the *Publick* Service, and ſo entirely under the Command of the *Parliament*, that an Examination is made, Accounts and Vouchers produced every Seſſions; an Happineſs this, which never could be obtained till the Revolution. And in regard to the other Part, called the *Civil Liſt*, this is in fact leſs by one half than what it was in the Times of King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. that is, when the Sums expended on the *Publick* Service were taken out of the Sums granted by Parliament, or otherwiſe received, the Balance* remaining in the Hands of the Crown at that Juncture was really *double* the Income of the preſent *Civil Liſt*, conſidering the Difference between the Value of Money then and now.

It may be farther obſerved, what I do not recollect hath ever yet been particularly taken Notice of, that the Syſtem of our Finances and Commerce hath, in ſome Meaſure, been put upon a *new* Footing ſince the Revolution, to the Nation's great Advantage;—though there is ſtill Room for very great Improvements. For with regard to our Finances, it is not ſo much the Conſideration of the *Sum raiſed*, as of the *Commodity* or *Perſons* that are to pay it, which ſhould denominate a Tax *uſeful* or *oppreſſive*:—Becauſe a Tax producing

* "The Amount of the *Civil Liſt* for three Years and an "half [that is, from the firſt half Year after the Reſtoration, "ending at Chriſtmaſs 1660, till Chriſtmaſs 1663.] was "6,075,855*l.* which is after the Rate of 1,735,900*l.* for one "Year. And this may be fairly ſtated, as upon a Medium, "the *Annual Civil Liſt Revenue* after the Reſtoration." *Byſtander*, Pages 84, and 85.

ing vaſt Sums, may be laid on in ſuch a Manner as to *promote* the Publick Welfare, by checking thoſe VICIOUS *artificial Wants*, which are prejudicial to a general, laſting, and extenſive Commerce: And on the other Hand, another may be ſuppoſed of ſo fatal a Tendency, though its own Amount may be but a Trifle, as to prevent the Circulation of MILLIONS, by ſtopping the Machine of Commerce in its *firſt* Motions. Now this was too much the Caſe before the Revolution; for Taxes were laid upon the Exportation of our own Manufactures, and even upon Cloth itſelf. Nay the very Ingredients uſed in Dying of Cloth, paid a Duty upon Importation ſo late as the 8th of King *George* II. when in Purſuance of His Majeſty's moſt Gracious Speech from the Throne, a Repeal was made of thoſe abſurd and pernicious Laws.

AND as to the more *immediate* Concerns of Commerce, it is a Principle not to be doubted, tho' never taken Notice of till the happy Revolution, that many Branches of Commerce, greatly advantageous to the Kingdom, are of ſuch a Nature as not to afford a ſufficient Profit to Individuals, unleſs *hired* at the Publick Expence, to engage in them. Hence therefore all our Bounties, Premiums, and Drawbacks, which are certainly right in themſelves, when judiciouſly applied, though they are ſubject, as every good Thing is, to many Frauds and Abuſes. But if we want any Example or Illuſtration of their *general* Utility, we need have Recourſe to no other, than to the Caſe of the Bounty upon the Exportation of Corn.

For

For ſince the paſſing of that uſeful Law in the Reign of our glorious Deliverer, King *William*, the whole Face of this Country hath been changed; ſo that from being ſubject to a *Famine* every five or ſix Years, we are now become the Granary of *Europe*, to the unſpeakable Advantage both of the *Landed* and *Commercial* Intereſt; having a Sufficiency of Corn for ourſelves, and ſome to export in the worſt of Seaſons. For the *Downs* and *High Lands* will generally furniſh a Supply, when the *Low Lands* fail,—and *vice verſâ*:—Not to mention that when both ſucceed, the Farmer is ſtill encouraged to plow again for a next Year's Crop, as he is ſure of a Price for the Produce of his Labour, either at Home or Abroad.

XI. THESE Conſiderations are humbly ſubmitted to the *free* and *unbiaſſed* Judgment of every *honeſt* Man, and *Lover* of his Country, of whatſoever *Denomination*.—And if it ſhould appear, that there can be no *juſt* Motive for *Diſaffection* to the preſent Royal Family on account of either *Principle* or *Intereſt*, may we not hope, that all Oppoſition, derived from that Source, to the Naturalization of our perſecuted Fellow Proteſtants, will entirely ceaſe? And would it be too much to expect, that this Affair ſhould be determined by every Man, in his own Conſcience, according to the intrinſick Reaſon of the Thing, and not according to the Dictates of Party, or former Prejudices and Prepoſſeſſions?—It is ſurely a ſtrange Proceeding, that an innocent, diſtreſſed Proteſtant, ſhould be denied a Shelter in this Country, merely becauſe he cannot to pay the high

high Fees for Naturalization, which the poor Remains of his plundered Fortune cannot reach; or is *diſliked* for his Affection to the preſent Royal Family;—but ſtranger ſtill, after it has been proved, that his Labour, Skill, and Induſtry, would be a new Acquiſition of Strength and Riches to our own Kingdom and People; or that his Affection to His Majeſty, and his Family, ſhould be the very Inducement with every loyal Subject, and Lover of his Country, to receive him with open Arms.

F I N I S.

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ERRATA.

IN the Preface, Page iii, Line 3 from the Bottom, for *the* read *that*. Page v, Line 3 from the Bottom, for *Articles* read *Article*. — In the Queries, Page 6, Line 6, for *rational* read *national*. Page 31, Line 15, for *cheaper* read *leſs*.

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